# Jagaḍūcarita of Sarvāṇanda: Relocating the Text

Thesis Submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Arts.

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2023

Jagaḍūcarita of Sarvāṇanda: Relocating the Text **CERTIFICATE** 

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# Jagaḍūcarita of Sarvāṇanda: Relocating the Text

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# **Abbreviations Used**

**BCE**: Before Common Era

**BSS** : Bombay Sanskrit Series

c. : Circa

**CE** : Common Era

chap. : Chapter

CII : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

ed. : Edition

Ed. : Editor

EI : Epigraphia Indica

GOS : Gaekwad's Oriental Series

**HCSL**: History of Classical Sanskrit Literature

IA : Indian Antiquiry

JC : Jagaḍūcarita

MS./ MSS. : Manuscript/ Manuscripts

NCC : New Catalogus Catalogorum

P/PP : Page/ Pages

Prnt. : Printed

**Pub.** : Published

**Rpt. /rpt.** : Reprint/ reprint

RV : Ŗgveda

Trans. : Translation

v/ vv : verse/ verses

Vol. : Volume

VS : Vikrama Samvat

# **CHAPTER: 1**

#### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Prelude

1.1.1. Introducing the Research Work: As the title of the present thesis promises, this research work tries to investigate and relocate in several aspects a text named Jagadūcarita, a late fourteenth century Sanskrit historical poetry in the form of a mahākāvya, from Gujarat, composed by a Jain poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri.¹ It is a panegyric of the thirteenth-century personality Jagadū or Jagadeva², a wealthy and famous Jain merchant of Bhadreshwar on the Kutch coast of Gujarat. It is perhaps the earliest of the series of stories and legends that gathered round its hero, Jagadū, who was not a king or a minister, but a rich merchant. So, it claims a unique position in the field of Sanskrit 'historical' kāvyas (also termed carita-s by historians of literature), as it has a merchant as its central character. It is not, however, an exclusive feature of this composition, because in dramaturgy we find vanij (merchant) is accepted as one option for being heroes (the other two being vipra or Brahmin and amātya or minister) in the Prakaraṇa type of Rūpakas³. Georg Bühler considers this work as different from the other works of the same genre, i.e. caritas, as it does not have any royal personality as its hero and casts a simple merchant in the pivotal role.⁴

Another interesting aspect of the poem is Sarvāṇanda Sūri, even though an ardent Jain himself, chose to describe the life and the philanthropic deeds of a merchant instead of resorting to any Jain mythical hero. There was an emerging trend of  $k\bar{a}vya$  literature in the Jain circle from about eighth century CE which were devoted mainly to Jain preachers. Jain monks employed court poetry for religious propaganda and their  $k\bar{a}vyas$  belong to the narrative literature dealing with great sages, holy places, pilgrimages and the legends associated with them, more technically known as  $m\bar{a}h\bar{a}tmyas$ . Sarvāṇanda Sūri went against this stream and picked up his subject matter from the life of a wealthy merchant named Jagaḍū, the political engagement of him with the Caulukya rulers of his time, his active participation in building a new city wall for his native town and his great role for mitigating widespread distress in the terrible famine of c.1256-1258 CE in Gujarat. Thus the nature of the composition is different from that of the contemporary literature created by Jain poets. However, the poet had a latent intention to promote Jainism through his

composition narrating the life and works of Jagaḍū, who was also a lay disciple of Jainism. From a different view the work was meant to strengthen the Jain religion during the transitional period experiencing co-existence of Islam and 'Hinduism' in 13<sup>th</sup> century Gujarat.

**1.1.2. About the Text:** The work *Jagadūcarita*, comprising of seven cantos and 388 verses, is designated a mahākāvva by the poet himself in each of the intermediate colophons marking the end of the chapters. Unlike the well-known Sanskritic mahākāvyas composed by famous poets, it lacks sophistication and finesse of language, poetics and metrics. In that matter it is more akin to contemporary Jain verse legends. This *carita kāvya* possesses characteristics of both Jain and Brahmanical compositions. It has same character and poetic style as the Sanskrit poems of other Jain monks of the twelfth and later centuries CE. At the same time the poet had a keen intention to have his composition considered as a Brahmanical kāvya, for which he has worked out all poetic treatments found in Brahmanical literature. In order to simulate a Brahmanical  $k\bar{a}vva$ , he carefully avoids all allusions to Jain legends and doctrines and substitutes those with the illustrations from the Sanskrit Epics and Brahmanical myths. But sometimes the result of this slavish imitation of the Brahmanical kāvyas proves harmful for the aesthetic aspect. With the alamkāras or figures of speech Sarvāṇanda seems to face considerable trouble. So he does not venture beyond the easier and common ones, such as Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Śleṣa and Atiśayokti. However, Sarvānanda has used variety of metres besides the more regular ones in every sarga.

1.1.3. Historical Importance of the Text: Apart from the literary and linguistic features, the content of Jagaḍūcarita is much more interesting in reflecting a real picture of contemporary Gujarat and in particular its maritime trade relation with West Asian countries, specifically Arabia. Jagaḍūcarita reflects a transitional condition in the political, social and religious domain of the thirteenth century Gujarat. The political, social, maritime and religious history can be traced through a perusal of the text. It must, however, be admitted that every narration of the text is not a piece of historical importance. There are many legends with no historical significance as such which make it difficult to pick up sober historical accounts of political, social and religious importance. In the present dissertation an attempt is made to sieve out the reliable information to situate the text in its true historical perspective. Here are some glimpses of relevant historical information:

- The Jagaḍūcarita mentions port Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, where the merchant prince Jagaḍū is known to have been running trade with Persia with the help of an Indian agent named Jayantasimha stationed at Hormuz. It is an unmistakable evidence of the presence of Indian merchants at Hormuz and the cordial relations between 'Hindu' and (Arab) 'Muslim' communities in an Islam dominated area.
- Apart from controlling a vast maritime trade empire and maintaining and extending contacts with merchants of West Asia, Jagaḍū was a devoted Jain. He made benefactions when a terrible famine afflicted Gujarat (c.1256-1258 CE) with no religious discrimination.
- Jagaḍū was also a patron of religious shrines and built not only Jain temples but also a *masīti* or mosque for the Ismā'ili community at Bhadreshwar. The author uses the term *mlecchalakṣmīkāranataḥ* while referring to the reason for building the mosque, indicating that the trade with the *mleccha* (foreigner) was Jagaḍū's source of wealth and this was his acknowledgement and thanksgiving.

#### 1.2. Objective and Aim of the Research

1.2.1. The Objective: The references of Jagadūcarita are profusely found in books and articles relating to contemporary history of Gujarat and its maritime activities in the thirteenth century with the Arab countries across the Indian Ocean. Historians use the references of this text for the related area of their research wherever necessary. The text is specially utilized to show the amiable relationship between different religious groups in thirteenth century Gujarat after several Islamic attacks. Only the concerned portion focusing on that area of the text is used there. But the text in its totality needs to be analysed as it contains information pertaining to historical and literary importance if examined under the lens of a researcher. Only a few works are available which contain mainly a general discourse on the text or contain only the text without annotation or commentary. There is no comprehensive edition encompassing the full text and detailed discussion on the importance of the text viewed from various angles. This demand for a complete study of the text was the starting point of my contemplation for doing a higher research on this subject which may culminate in a PhD thesis.

**1.2.2. Inspiration and Purpose of the Research:** While working on my M.Phil. Dissertation, I first found the mention of *Jagaḍūcarita* in an essay authored by Prof. Ranabir Chakravarti which is based on the bilingual (Sanskrit and Arabic) Veraval inscription (1264 CE). The said inscription speaks of a Hormuzi *Nākhudā* (ship owner),

who came to Somnath with some business. It kindled my interest for further study on this work and I could somehow manage to get hold of the text of *Jagadūcarita* (Ātmānanda Jain Sabhā, Ambala, prnt. Nirṇaya Sāgara, 1925 CE) and a thorough internet search revealed that G. Bühler had edited a considerable portion of it in the year 1892 which has been published in *Indian Studies*, No.1, Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften. But apart from these two, no other edition of this work is available, though it is an important source for contemporary history of Gujarat. So, when I started researching on the subject, my work demanded an edited full text of *Jagadūcarita* and a comprehensive discussion highlighting its socio-political and religious importance with special focus on the amiable cultural and religious relationship of the different religious communities in Gujarat during this time.

**1.2.3.** The Aim: My aim in this regard has been to relocate the text in different spheres, viz.:

- i) in the sphere of *carita kāvya*s, both Brahmanical and Jain;
- ii) in the sphere of mahākāvyas;
- iii) as a literary product of the 14<sup>th</sup> century India;
- iv) as a text with an extraordinary content reflecting interaction and mutual regard between traders which transcended all business relations, religious affiliations as well as political loyalties;
- v) as a comparative source of other similar accounts. That Jagaḍū was a historical figure may be asserted with certainty. Śubhaśīla's (fifteenth century Jain writer) Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha is one of the most dependable account which gives the story of Jagaḍū. The incidents described here, sometimes differ from the statements made by Sarvāṇanda in his Jagaḍūcarita. My work includes a comparative study of Jagaḍūcarita with the above mentioned work.

#### 1.3. Review of Existing Literature

**1.3.1. Historiography**: The references where the text *Jagadūcarita* is mentioned are put together in this section. The books dealing with the history of classical Sanskrit literature just introduce the *Jagadūcarita* as a *carita kāvya*. Nothing much is found there. Keith has introduced it as "a panegyric of a pious Jain layman who aided his townsfolk by building new walls and affording them great support in the terrible famine of 1256-58 CE in Gujarat". S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. Dey have categorized it under the historical *kāvyas* and

noted that the life and good deeds of a merchant Jagadū extolled in Sarvānanda's Jagadūcarita written in the 14th century.8 A History of Indian Literature has noted that "In the Jagadūcarita by Sarvānanda who probably lived in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. We meet a new kind of patron. The hero of this poem in seven cantos is the wealthy Gujarati merchant and lay follower of Jainism who was a great benefactor and patron in his native city." Apart from the works on the history of Sanskrit literature, A.K. Majumdar's book The Chaulukyas of Gujarat has recorded the history of Caulukya kings who reigned Gujarat in the time of Jagadū. It is an essential source for knowing Caulukya history. Samira Seikh has spent a considerable part of her thesis named "State and Society in Gujarat, c.1200-1500: The Making of a Region" (Wolfson College, Oxford University) to discuss the importance of the text Jagadūcarita. Ranabir Chakravarti's essay "Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owing Merchants in the West Coast of India (C. AD 1000-1500)" in Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, (Vol. 43, No.1, 2000) is an inevitable reading. But all these sources put together are not sufficient to evaluate the text properly for the lack of their integrated approach. Actually it demands a micro-study of the text as a document of significance for discussing the political, social and religious history of 13<sup>th</sup> century Gujarat and also as a piece of literary composition by a Jain poet of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Following is a review of the existing literature for the historical romance  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$ , on which the research work is based. The sources which contain the edited text of the poetry are considered primary sources. The literature which contain critical discourse about the text are considered secondary ones.

#### 1.3.2. Primary Sources of the Text

a) G. Bühler first published an article bearing the title "The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvāṇanda, a historical romance from Gujarat" in *Indian Studies*, No.1 in the series *Sitzungsberichte der philosophical-Hisrotischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien: F. Tempsky) in the year 1892. His essay was based on the manuscript which was collected by him between the years 1863 and 1888 during his visit to Indian subcontinent and later he presented the manuscript to India Office Library. In an article written by him in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLII, p. 551, he has listed this manuscript (Sanskrit MSS. Bühler, No. 291, fols.10). Bühler has mentioned in his article that this manuscript was kindly lent to him in 1876 CE by Rāo Sāheb Dalpatrām P.

Khakhar, then Educational Inspector of Kutch, who of late has sanctioned its presentation to the Indian office.<sup>10</sup> He has not also forgot to mention that the MS., on which his essay in the *Indian studies*, No. I is based, is a modern, but very correct copy, made for Mr. Khakhar from an old MS., belonging to a Jain *Yati* in Bhuj.<sup>11</sup> In this article of Bühler, there is no translation of the text and only an outline of the content of the text is drawn by him.

b) Later, in the year 1925, the text of Jagadūcarita of Sarvānanda Sūri was published by Nirṇaya Ātmānanda in the of Sāgara, Jain Sabhā, Ambala name Śrīmajjagaḍūcaritamahākāvyam Śrī Śrīmatsarvvāṇandasūriviracitam edited by Umangavijaya Ganī in the series named Śrī Ātmavallabha Grantha Series. No 6. contains merely the main text of the carita. There is no translation or any comments about the text.

#### 1.3.3. Secondary Sources for the Discourse of the Text

For the discourse on the text *Jagadūcarita* (thirteenth century CE), the contemporary literature written on the history of medieval Gujarat is considered as the secondary sources for the proposed research work. The book of A.K. Majumdar<sup>12</sup> is an indispensable reference for the history of ruling Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat in the time of Jagaḍū. The next major works on medieval Gujarat focusing the Islamic conquest were monographs by S.C. Misra<sup>13</sup> and S.A.I. Tirmizi.<sup>14</sup> For the economic history, trade and traders of Gujarat, V.K. Jain's book<sup>15</sup> and Ranabir Chkaravarti's book<sup>16</sup> are helpful testimonials. For the study of religious history of that time especially Jainism, Paul Dundas book *The Jains* is a good reading. An unpublished thesis "State and Society in Gujarat, c.1200-1500: The Making of a Region" by Samira Sheikh (Wolfson College, Oxford University) has put the reference of *Jagadūcarita* to show the relation between trade and politics in Kutch.

These Primary and secondary sources and other web sources have been used for reconstructing the text  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  along with the history of contemporary Gujarat, but the target area of this dissertation is completely different from these sources. The work of Bühler has direct contribution in this research work but the intention of this research is to relocate the text  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  from different points of view to proclaim the importance of it in a very sensitive time period of Gujarat's history. The secondary sources have very minor contribution in the present research work as the area of research has a holistic view based on the text  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$ . The secondary sources are concerned with their own area of discussion. Under these circumstances, the dissertation has the purpose to relocate the

present text sketching the political, social, religious importance and also the literary significance of it.

# 1.4. Chapter Design

#### 1.4.1. Titles of the Chapters

The present research work is divided into five chapters along with two appendixes. The chapter arrangement is as follows:

Chapter 1 : Introduction

Chapter 2 : **About the Text and the Author** 

Chapter 3 : Edited and Annotated text

Chapter 4 : Political, Religious and Social Importance of the Text

Chapter 5 : Concluding Remarks

Appendix I : Linguistic Features of the Text

Appendix II : Gallery of Images

# 1.4.2. Summary of the Chapters

#### 1.4.2.1. Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing the research topic by providing a brief conceptual note has been provided in the very beginning of the dissertation. For this research work, the primary concept about the text  $Jagaq\bar{u}carita$  has been given. It has been discussed that though it belongs to the category of carita  $k\bar{a}vya$ ,  $Jagaq\bar{u}carita$  is different from others in this category in having a merchant (not a king or a minister) as the central character. The historically important incidents described in the text about the hero of the narrative make it a vital document for knowing thirteenth century Gujarat.

After introducing the topic of research and the importance of it, the review of the sources has been presented. The primary sources of the text, the secondary source literature and inadequacy of the existing literature for a full knowledge of the nature of the text have been stated. It is also noted down that how the sources inspired and helped contemplate the research work and what insufficiencies therein stimulated the urge for situating and relocating the text. Thus the present research work may humbly promise to make an attempt to fill up the lacuna of the previously mentioned sources and to produce a comprehensive study of the text *Jagaqūcarita*.

It has been stated earlier that there have been several mentions about  $Jaga d\bar{u}carita$ , but there is not any complete work on it discussing the importance along with the main text. The present research work aims to give an edited text of  $Jaga d\bar{u}carita$  and to highlight the historicity of the narrative. To relocate the text in the sphere of carita  $k\bar{a}vya$  and  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  and as a literary product of fourteenth century India are the objectives of this research.

The research methodology followed in this dissertation and a note on transliteration is also elaborated also in this chapter.

#### 1.4.2.2. Chapter 2: About the Text and the Author

In this chapter the probable time of Jagaḍū, the central character of the text and also the time when the text was composed by the poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri is suggested with reference to circumstantial evidences. There is no clear mention of the time of Jagaḍū or the author of this narrative anywhere within the text. An effort is made towards accumulating and analyzing the information found from the text to suggest an acceptable time of Jagaḍū and the author Sarvāṇanda. Jagaḍū's remarkable activities described in the text in collation with other related sources about him help to form an idea about his time. Examining all sources it is suggested in the chapter that Jagaḍū must have continued to live till the third quarter of the thirteenth century CE.

Apart from the name of the author Sarvāṇanda Sūri along with his religious teacher in the colophon of every chapter nothing definite is known regarding the time or related matters. It also cannot be traced what sources have been used by the author to compose this narrative about Jagaḍū. However, the internal evidence of the text enables us to determine the date of the author Sarvāṇanda Suri with a fair degree of certainty. Examining the circumstantial evidences we may assign Sarvāṇanda's work to a period near about hundred years after Jagaḍū's death and this calculation places the work in the second half of the fourteenth century CE.

The structure of the text is mentioned in this chapter. The name of the *sargas*, total number of verses, the chief metres used to compose the text are also noted here. Some very popular *alamkāras* or figures of speech like *Anuprāsa*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*. Śleṣa, *Atiśayokti* which have been used by the poet are also discussed.

A detailed discourse on the topic relocating the text in the sphere of *carita kāvyas* is presented next. The definition and characteristics of so-called *carita kāvya* are described in detail. *Kāvya*s centering on a historical character with the word *carita* appended to the

name of the hero is designated *carita kāvya* by modern rhetoricians, which is not at all supported by any ancient Sanskritic treaties on rhetorics. Famous examples are *Buddhacarita*, *Harṣacarita*, *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, *Rāmacarita*, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, *Kumārapālacarita* etc. An attempt at the relocating of the text *Jagaḍūcarita* in the domain of this particular genre is undertaken here.

The *mahākāya* as an extensive and an elevated poetic endeavour, probably came to be regarded as the highest type of composition and as the indispensable test of a great poet. The poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri wanted to produce his composition as a Brahmanical *mahākāya*. Whether the composition has been able to touch that highest level of a good Brahmanical poetry is a matter of discussion in this sub topic of the chapter. The text also bears few characteristics of Jain *mahākāyas*, which is also commented on here.

A comparative study of the text with other similar accounts like *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha* composed by Śubhaśīlagaṇi, in VS 1521 or 1463-1464 CE has been attempted too. Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha*, which is evidently different from *Jagaḍūcarita* is full of absurd legends. It may be that a long interval of time, turned the story of Jagaḍū into myth. The latter is composed much earlier than the former and the poet Sarvāṇanda had access to more reliable sources of the story than Śubhaśīlagaṇi. Some instances are discussed in this portion for substantiating the point. Another account by Khantavijaya on Jagadeva has been also discussed here.

#### 1.4.2.3. Chapter 3: Edited and Annotated Text

In this chapter, the edited text of Jagadūcarita of Sarvāṇanada Sūri has been prepared collating two primary source texts as mentioned earlier. The complete text of Jagadūcarita, published by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press (1925 CE) is labelled as MS. A. The extract of the text by Bühler is labelled as MS. B. Seven cantos and 388 verses of the text are given with comments in the foot note. The verses where only one source text is available, few corrective readings are suggested for the grammatical mistakes or any other irregularity. A summary of every canto is given after the complete edited text. The text with a summary of the last three sambandha of Śubhaśīlagaṇi's Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha where the account of Jagadū is included, has been also put in this chapter with a summary of it.

#### 1.4.2.4. Chapter 4: Political, Religious and Social Importance of the Text

In the introductory part of this chapter, it is discussed comprehensively that the text  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  reflects a transitional condition in the political, social and religious domains of the thirteenth century Gujarat. After that the political, religious and social importance of the text is discussed with references to available information. Every narration of the text is not a piece of historical importance. There are many legends with no historical significance which make it difficult for the researcher to separate sober historical accounts of political, social and religious importance from fantasy. This chapter witnesses an attempt to squeeze out reliable historical information to situate the text in its true historical perspective.

# 1.4.2.5. Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks

The last chapter of the dissertation contains the key findings of the work. Before highlighting the concluding remark, it is planned to show the modern day impact of the narrative of Jagaḍū. Jagaḍū is still remembered for his munificent work in the Jain community. His generosity during the thirteenth century famine has so great impact on people that after so many years, he is remembered for his work. Undoubtedly, the *carita kāvya*, *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvāṇanda Sūri, is the most venerated composition on the life of Jagaḍū. The last chapter contains the key findings of the research already highlighted above.

# 1.4.2.6. Appendix I: Linguistic Features of the Text

The poet Sarvānanda employs a few rare Sanskrit words, or of common Sanskrit words with irregular gender and uncommon meanings, and a few Prakrit words which have been transliterated into, and made to look like Sanskrit. Among the Sanskrit words the following deserve to be mentioned as they do not appear in the standard dictionaries and also because their use is not sufficiently illustrated by quotations. A list of unusual words is given in this appendix.

#### 1.4.2.7. Appendix II: Gallery of Images

This appendix is a gallery with a little illustration of few pictures related to Jagaḍū or his constructions discussed in the *carita* or which is popular legend even till date.

#### 1.5. Methodology and Writing Method of this Research Work

The research methodology followed in this dissertation is elaborated in this portion.

- **a.** While preparing the edited text of *Jagadūcarita*, the two printed materials (1. the text given by Bühler is a little portion of the main text which is extracted from the MS.<sup>17</sup> and 2. the full text published by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press) are collated and the foot notes are given where readings differ or any comment is needed.
- **b.** The chapter division is done broadly. There are sub topics and themes discussed under the chapters.
- **c.** In this thesis "Times New Roman" font face with font size 12 and line spacing 1.5 are used. However, for editing text the font face (style) "Barāha Devanāgarī" with size 14 and line spacing 1.5 are applied.
- **d.** The Reference Bibliography has been prepared as per MLA handbook 8<sup>th</sup> edition. However, it has been unavoidable to deviate from the prescribed MLA 8 guidelines in a few places. The notes and references has put as the Endnote of every chapter, whereas for chapter 3, The Edited and Annotated Text, Footnote has been used to comment on the text. Since most of the materials used in this thesis were in print format, in the Reference Bibliography the term 'Print' is not mentioned in each citation. The 'pdf' format of works wherever used is mentioned.

#### 1.6. Notes on Transliteration

- **I. Personal Names:** While using the personal names, the spellings are kept as seen in the sources from which the names have been taken. The names which have mainly the Indic origin, have been mentioned with diacritic marks. The names of individuals who belong to the modern time, are rendered in the most common/ usual English spellings.
- **II. Place Names:** The proper names of popular places like Gujarat, Bhadreshwar, Delhi, Kutch, Somnath etc. are used according to the modern day spellings. But when the name is archaic and it is transcribed from any text or inscription, it is used it its original form with diacritics.
- III. Group Names: While writing in Roman, the well-known terms like Hindu, Brahman, Jain, Buddhist, Sultan etc. have been rendered according to the popular modern English spellings. The less popular group names as Ismā'ili, Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla have been

transliterated with diacritical marks. The medieval dynasties like Caulukya, Pratīhāra etc. are also mentioned with diacritics.

**IV. Names of Authors and Books:** The non-English names of authors and books (mainly Sanskrit or Bengali) have been transliterated with diacritical marks.

#### **Notes and References:**

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of this proper name is taken as mentioned in the intermediate colophons of the text after every chapter. *Cf.* Intermediate colophons of the text in Chap. 3 of this thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Georg Bühler has expressed his view on the derivation of the name as "Jagaḍū or Jagaḍu is the nominative of a diminutive in *ḍa*, formed from the first half of a proper name, beginning with Jaga, in Sanskrit Jagat. In this case the etymon is, as the tradition asserts, Jagadeva (now pronounced Jagadev), in Sanskrit Jagaddeva. The diminute affix *ḍa* is as common in Gujarati as in most Prakrits. The formation of the nominative masc. by ū or u instead of by o, is rare, but occurs e.g. in varū 'a wolf', which like Jagaḍū is treated, not as a nominative, but as a new stem. Du for ḍo would be correct in Sindhī, to which the Kachhī dialect is closely allied." *Indian Studies*, No. I, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI. 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Indian Studies, No. I, p. 1.

<sup>5 ...</sup>श्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owing Merchants in the West Coast of India (C. AD 1000-1500)". In *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 43, No.1, 2000. pp. 34-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 173.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A History of Sanskrit Literature: Classical Period, p. 679.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Jan Gonda, series editor, Vol. III, Fasc. 1, p. 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> George Bühler, *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Chaulukyas of Gujarat. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442. Asia Publishing House, 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Some Aspects of Medieval Gujarat. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Trade and Traders in Western India, 1000-1300. Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Trade and Traders in Early Indian Society. Manohar, 2002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sanskrit MSS. Bühler, No. 291; presented by Bühler to India office Library. The MS. Was kindly lent to him in 1876 by Rao Saheb Dalpatram P. Khakhar, then Educational Inspector of Kutch, who of late has sanctioned its presentation to the India Office. It is modern, but very correct copy, made for Mr. Khakhar from an old MS., belonging to a Jain community in Bhuj.

#### **CHAPTER: 2**

#### ABOUT THE TEXT AND THE AUTHOR

### 2.1. Introducing the Topic

As already stated, the *Jagadūcarita* is a *mahākāvya*-cum-*carita kāvya* created by Jain poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri centering round Jagaḍū, a wealthy merchant of Gujarat. In an attempt to relocate the text from different points of view, it has been the first and foremost task of the researcher to determine the time of Jagadū, standing at the pivot of the text and also the time of the composer of the text, viz. Sarvāṇanda Sūri. The text itself contains no distinct clue to the time of Jagadū or the author of this narrative. As if abiding by the habitual unresponsiveness of most of the ancient Sanskrit authors to accurate documentation, Sarvāṇanda did not bother to mention the time of Jagadū or of his own composition. In this situation one has to work out a probable date by reaching out to the descriptions and information contained in the text and in external sources-literary (indigenous and foreign), epigraphic and archaeological. In the following sub-topics of the present chapter, an effort is made towards interpreting and analyzing the data collected from the text to conceive a probable time frame of Jagadū. In this respect we have to refer to Jagadū's remarkable activities described in the text in combination with other relevant sources. The sub-topic that comes close behind deals with the structure of the text along with its literary characteristics. Though marked as a *carita kāvya* by modern writers it has been intentionally designed by the poet as a mahākāvya and thus it becomes a responsibility of the researcher to relocate the text in the sphere of mahākāvyas as well as carita kāvyas. Immediately comes up the sub-topic holding a comparative study of the text of Jagadūcarita of Sarvāṇanda with similar accounts of the life of Jagadū.

## 2.2. Guesstimating the Probable Time of Jagadū

Jagaḍū or Jagadeva, the fabulous Jain business magnate of Bhadreshwar, whom the Jains revered as one of the role models of their community, could have flourished between the first half and the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century CE. It seems plausible from few instances described in the text.

**a.** The incident of Jagaḍū's encounter with Pīṭhadeva helps to form an idea about Jagaḍū's time. The text *Jagaḍūcarita* states that Kutch was invaded by Pīṭhadeva during Jagaḍū's time. Pīṭhadeva destroyed the whole country and he also occupied Bhadreshwar for a certain

period before he returned to his country. He also demolished the rampart of Bhadreshwar which created the perilous situation for the city. The merchant Jagadū, as he became a prominent citizen, wished to rebuild the walls of his native town in order to secure the city as well as to prevent it against further attacks. Jagadū tried to build a new rampart for the city of Bhadreshwar, but he faced obstructions in this process from the messenger sent by Pīṭhadeva. Jagaḍū then made an appeal to the ruler Lavaṇaprasāda of Aṇahilapāṭaka and his prayer for protection was readily granted, and a Rajput force was sent with him to Bhadreshwar in order to restrain Pīthadeva from interfering with the re-fortification of the town. But, the Caulukya force was commanded back from Bhadreshwar probably because Gujarat was invaded about this time (c.1229 CE), by Singhana, the king of Devagiri.<sup>2</sup> Jagadū then probably took the assistance of other wealthy inhabitants of Bhadreshwar, and with another army of the town finally succeeded to reconstruct the city and his activity induced Pīṭhadeva to conclude a peace with the inhabitants of Bhadreshwar. Bühler³ has identified this Pīthadeva with the Sumrā chief who is familiar to the Muslim historians in various names as Pithu, Pahtu, or Phatu. Thus it naturally follows that Jagadu, who had confronted Pīthadeva in a struggle, must have flourished during the first half of thirteenth century CE. **b.** Jagadū is said to have conquered the *Mudgalas* with an army of Caulukya king and gave peace to the world.<sup>4</sup> The *Mudgalas* are identified as Mughals and probably the raid was organized against Kutch from Multan by Jālāl-ul-Dīn. Jālāl-ul-Dīn Mangbarani was a fugitive king from Khwarazm who tried to invade the western part of Indian sub-continent. An attack was launched by him against Kutch in course of this invasion in 1224 CE. 5 Jagadū seems to have exterminated him and this instance clearly shows that Jagadū belonged to the thirteen century. Jagadū probably acted as practically the civil governor of Bhadreshwar and he could have used his power in any troubled situation for the city. Mehrdad Shokoohy has mentioned in his book<sup>6</sup> that Jagadeva or Jagadū is said to have governed the city of Bhadreshwar through a royal charter of the Caulukyas in the thirteenth century.

**c.** Another important instance is related to Jagaḍū's spiritual and religious director, the monk Paramadeva, an ascetic of great devotion and holiness, who belonged to the *Pūrṇimā gachha*, who came to Bhadreshwar after the middle of the fourth decade of the thirteenth century. There he performed the very difficult penance called *Achāmlavardhaniāna* in Vikrama Saṁvat 1302 or about 1245 CE.<sup>7</sup> This also proves that Jagaḍū belonged to the first half of thirteenth century.

d. One more information available from Jagadūcarita confirms Jagadū's presence in the middle of the thirteenth century. The text notes, "When the year 1312 after Vikrama has passed, a famine will afflict all countries (Gujarat) during three years."8 It suggests that during the years Vikrama Samvat 1313, 1314 and 1315, or about 1256-1258 CE, Gujarat was affected by one of the most terrible famines during the reign of Vīsaladeva and when the charity was entirely lacking, Jagadū came forward with succor. He opened many relief houses to help the distressed in Bhadreshwar and its neighbourhood. His store was opened for distribution of food grain among the starving people of Gujarat. He also gave a large portion of his granaries to the ruler of Gujarat, Vīsaladeva when the distress reached its peak and there was scarcity of food even in the king's depository. The Caulukya king Vīsaladeva was on the throne of Gujarat about the year VS 13029 (which coincides with c.1244 CE) and reigned for a long period till Arjunadeva was nominated his heir (c.1264 CE). As a responsible citizen Jagadū showed his charitable disposition which has always distinguished him from other rich merchants. Another text about Jagadū also notes almost the same (two years later) time as the commencement years of the famine. Jagadū did not live long after the famine came to an end. However, his brothers continued to enjoy the favour of Caulukya Vīsaladeva even after his demise. Examining all these sources we may suggest that Jagadū must have lived till the third quarter of the thirteenth century CE.

# 2.3. Reckoning the Probable Time of the Composer of the Narrative

The author of *Jagaḍūcarita*, Sarvāṇanda Sūri, is clearly mentioned as the author of this *mahākāvya* and as a pupil of Dhanaprabha in the intermediate colophons of every *sarga*.<sup>10</sup> But apart from the name of the author along with his religious teacher nothing definite is known regarding the time or related matters.<sup>11</sup> It also cannot be traced what sources have been used by the author to compose this narrative about Jagaḍū. However, the internal evidence of the text enables us to determine the date of the author Sarvāṇanda Sūri with a fair degree of certainty.

**a.** Sarvāṇanda's work must have been composed later than the middle of the thirteenth century CE as is evident from two facts. First, Jagaḍū, the central character of his narrative, belonged to the first half and the beginning of the second half of thirteenth century CE. There are various instances to prove that the poet was not exactly a contemporary of the hero of his poem. Secondly, there is a conspicuous reference to the king Vīsaladeva of Aṇahilavāda, who ruled from VS 1302-1320 i.e. c.1244-1264 CE.

There is a description within the narrative of an important historical incident about the terrible famine in Gujarat during the years VS 1313-1315, or about 1256-1258 CE and Jagadū's role as a succor in this crisis. Soon after the famine, Jagadū died during the reign of Vīsaladeva which falls within 1258 to 1264 CE. Here the question arises whether Sarvāṇanda wrote his narrative immediately after Jagaḍū's death or years later. The narrative describes the complete life of Jagadū with various imaginary anecdotes regarding him. However, it is quite natural for the *carita* writers to describe their heroes' activities with much exaggeration and disproportionate imagination to establish the heroes as divine characters. It is also common with the authors of most of the Gujarat chronicles to transform their mortal heroes into semi-divine beings even if they are their contemporaries. But it seems a bit absurd to think that the *carita* of Jagadū was composed by Sarvāṇanda at a time when Jagaḍū was celebrated as a living legend. Some factors lead us to think that Sarvāṇanda appeared after Jagadū and he did not write the carita when Jagadū was alive, though he should not be placed much later than the hero. Rather it is quite possible that the extraordinary help made by Jagadū was so much remarkable and popular among people that after a few years the public fancy turned the actual figures into an incredible amount. During the time of famine when food is the only need of people, Jagaḍū opened his grain store for everyone and his donation for the people was so prepossessing that his contribution set an example and the amount of the help touched the level of mythology.

The poet Sarvāṇanda seems to have committed a mistake regarding the lineage of the Vāghelā kings. If he had lived at the same time as Jagaḍū, he would not have done so. It is probable that he lived at a period later than these Vāghelā kings, viz. Vīsaladeva and Arjunadeva, which made him swap the order of the kings and the incidents related to Jagaḍu. b. Sarvāṇanda has mentioned various details which are confirmed by other contemporary evidences and are credible. Hence he may not have lived many centuries later than the hero of his narrative. Otherwise many historical facts about Jagaḍū could have been distorted after so many years of his death. On the other hand, another account containing the life of Jagaḍū, titled *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha* written by Śubhaśīlagaṇi (composed in VS 1521 or about 1421 CE), states that Jagaḍū was a contemporary of Vīśaladeva and alleviated the distress in the famine of 1256 CE. It may be inferred that after two hundred years of Jagaḍū's life, the historical events dissolved in mist and lost their historical accuracy regarding chronology. Thus examining the circumstantial evidences we may assign

Sarvāṇanda's work to a period near about hundred years after Jagaḍū's death and this calculation places the work in the second half of the fourteenth century CE.

c. Being a Jain monk Sarvānanda composed a literary piece in the form of a mahākāvya, spotlighting the character Jagaḍū, a merchant who was his senior contemporary, not very far removed in terms of years. It is not sure whether poet Sarvāṇanda was a kaviyaśaḥprārthī or not. But after all he was a Jain who followed all the established Brahamanical poetic conventions. The poet was proficient in Sanskrit grammar, poetics, lexicons and metrics. But it seemed that while using the *alamkāras*, he had some uneasiness which may indicate that he was not a poet by profession. He just wanted to compose s kāvya following the Brahmanical tradition. It is possible that the main character of the poem Jagaḍū was very much popular in Jain tradition and culture and with a wish to make Jagadū known in all spheres and to popularize his deeds to all, Sarvāṇanda took to composing a mahākāvya following the Brahmanical poetic style. Actually in order to popularise his work, the poet used all the illustrations and metaphors from the Epics and Brahmanical mythology. He was so particular to follow the trend that he had completely avoided all allusions to Jain legends and doctrines and instead had used the Brahmanical or Purāņic allusions. It is quite obvious that, being a Jain by faith, Sarvāṇanda composed his narrative by making a merchant the central character who was also a Jain, but describing his achievements the poet hints that his only purpose was not to preach Jainism but also to popularize Jagadū's story among people and society. More or less hundred years elapsed after Jagadū's death when Sarvāṇanda wrote Jagadū's accounts. So it was popular among people even after a century and the poet indulged himself in the task to make it everlasting and attain poetic fame. The poet Sarvāṇanda was not the court poet of any king of his time. Even if he was a court poet, nothing is known to us about his patron. Therefore it is also uncertain what motivated him to compose this work.

#### 2.4. Structure of the Text

Jagaḍūcarita is a long poem, written in classical Sanskrit language, consisting of seven sargas and 388 verses. Following the trend of Sanskrit rhetorics, the chapters of the mahākāvya are called sargas. The names of the sargas and their topics are as follows:

1. *Vīyaṭṭhuprabhṛtipūrvapuruṣavarṇana* — This very first canto gives the lineage of Jagaḍū and describes Vīyaṭṭhu as his ancestor along with other. It contains 45 verses and the chief metre is *Vasantatilaka*.

- 2. *Bhadreśvarapuravarṇana* This *sarga* describes the town Bhadreshwar. It contains 28 verses and the chief metre of this *sarga* is *Upajāti*.
- 3. *Ratnākaradānavyāvarṇana* The *sarga* mainly tells about the boon conferred by the Ocean to Jagaḍū. It contains 61 verses and the main metre is *Anuṣṭubh*.
- 4. *Bhadrasuradarśana* It is about the manifestation of the God Bhadra. It has 36 verses and the chief metre is *Upajāti*.
- 5. *Pīṭhadevanarapatidarpadalana* The chapter is all about the king Pīṭhadeva's pride. It has 42 verses and *Upajāti* is its chief metre.
- 6. Sakalajanasamjīvana This chapter produces an account of Jagaḍū's great contribution towards the people of his country during the famine. It has 137 verses. The MS. B marks erroneously 136 verses. Verse 116 is not counted. The chief metre is *Anuṣthubh* here.
- 7. Triviṣṭapaprāpaṇa The concluding chapter describes Jagaḍū's attainment of heaven. The chapter is consisted of 39 verses and the chief metres are *Pramitākṣara* and *Anuṣthubh*.

Besides these chief metres, several others have been used. Some very popular *alamkāra*s or figures of speech like *Anuprāsa*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*. Śleṣa, *Atiśayokti* have been used by the poet.

#### 2.5. Relocation of the Text in the Sphere of the So-called *Carita Kāvyas*

2.5.1. Classification of kāvya Literature: Kāvya is a name given to any kind of creative writing in ancient Indian literary domain. There have been several types of kāvyas classified according to various criteria. Sometimes the categorizing factor is drśyatva (watchability; i.e. which is enjoyable by watching) and śravyatva (hearability; i.e. which is enjoyable through hearing only), sometimes language, sometimes prose and verse forms, sometimes again merit issuing from the degree of literal and suggesstive meanings and so on. Rhetoricians are all very enthusistic about discussing and illustrating the minute details of different types of Sanskritic poetry. However, the two broad divisions of drśya and śravya kāvyas were more largely accepted and promoted and poems classified under other categories were included under either of these two. Among the principal sub-divisions of the śravya kāvyas are found padya kāvya or metrical poetry and gadya kāvya or prose literature. The format of mahākāvyas (long epics, composed fully in verses) was profusely chosen by the renowned poets of classical Sanskrit as it provided a wide platform for them

to display their creative genius, knowledge of scriptures and aesthetic theories as well as the acquired skill of poetic technique. The essential characteristics of this genre of writing prescribed in books on Sanskrit rhetorics clearly indicate it. The definition of the *mahākāvya* is very elaborately stated in these books and other types of śravya kāvyas are described in brief with reference to it. The main features like the plot (vastu), the hero, the metre (chanda) and the sentiment (rasa) are deliberated upon with some non-essential or formal characteristics thoroughly by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. Here the plot of the *mahākāvyas* should be taken from *itihāsa*, i.e. the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas* or from the life of a well-known historical personage.

On the other hand, the prose  $k\bar{a}vya$ s have two most important divisions like the  $\bar{a}kh\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$  and the  $kath\bar{a}$ . As many rhetoricians like Daṇḍin and others have discussed about these types of prose compositions from a certain angle, Amarasiṁha, the lexicographer and composer of Amarakośa, has defined  $\bar{a}kh\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$  as having an historical source and  $kath\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  an imaginary root. Viśvanātha, the writer of  $S\bar{a}hityadarpaṇa$  also admitted the division of these classifications and according to him  $kath\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  is one of the forms of poetical expression composed in prose and the subject is based on a story favouring  $śrng\bar{a}rarasa$  (sarasa) whereas the  $\bar{a}kh\bar{a}yik\bar{a}$  though similar to  $kath\bar{a}$  has some specific characteristics of its own, like the genealogy of the poet or sometimes the account of other poets too. 12

It may be seen that most of the so-called extant *carita kāvya*s are similar in character to *mahākāvya*s as far as the plot or *vastu* is concerned. *Carita kāvyas* mainly bear the fundamental characteristics that narrate about the life and deeds of a really historical person. In this context, sometimes *carita kāvyas* are designated historical *kāvyas* by modern writers.

**2.5.2.** The Origin of Historical  $K\bar{a}vyas$ : The great Indian civilization has produced an amazingly vast literary treasure, but it is also true that there is a scarcity of sober historical writings with proper chronological treatment. Whatever be the plot or theme of the compositions created by the poets, they are mentioned and conceived as  $k\bar{a}vyas$  by the authors themselves. Even the panegyrical inscriptions are professedly called  $k\bar{a}vyas$  and the composers kavi. Historical information in almost all such compositions become secondary in importance. These so-called historical  $k\bar{a}vyas$  basically contain few historical information under the wrapper of fantasy. The fundamentally religious and philosophical mindset of the ancient Indians and also the lack of political unity as a result of continuous warfare among the kings of the country and also foreign invasions may be counted responsible for the lack

of production of purely historical literature and these are also the conditioning factors for any type of literary work of the Indian subcontinent.

Al-Biruni, who visited the Indian subcontinent in the early eleventh century CE, had given a strong testimony about Indians lacking historical sense. Many other historians and critics also have repeatedly expressed their views that Indians have a lack of sense of history. Prof. A. L. Basham in his book<sup>13</sup> told that Indians had a sense of past, but still not of history. It is true that for the very ancient period, we do not find any actual historical literature, but in the Vedic texts, in the *Purāṇas*, in the sacred Buddhist texts and biographies, in the Jain narratives and chronicles we can trace historicity and such descriptions prove that Indians did not completely lack the sense of history and used to document events in their own unique way which may not follow the method of modern history writing.

The very beginning of writings with some historical significance may be traced in the vamsas or lineages of the Vedic teachers and the pupil during the ceremonies of the Vedic sacrificial rituals. These have certainly a high degree of historicity which has been vividly discussed with huge references by U. N. Ghosal in his book. 14 Also the lists where the gotra (family genealogies) pravara (the illustrious ancestors who have been credited to be the contributor of the same)<sup>15</sup> consist of historical facts and 'have a substratum of historical reality'. 16 The gāthās (epic song verses) or nārāśamsīs (songs in praise of heroes) of Vedic literature have a more definite approach to history. They are 'the precursors of epic poetry' and 'forerunners of the Indian historical kāvya' and so the ākhyāna, itihāsa, and the Purāṇas, which as yet had 'no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references, such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later *Purāṇa*s, according to the standard definition'. The Mahabhārata qualifies itself with these three terms; ākhyāna, purāṇa and obviously the most well-known itihāsa. The Pūrāṇas contain the accounts of kings and saints and also religious and social matters, which embody a great source of Indian history. Among the five features of Pūrāṇas, the vaṁśānucarita contains the stories of royal dynasties. They cannot be held as real history, but it helps reconstruct the history of ancient India. Gradually in the classical period of the history of Sanskrit literature, the poets started to compose their  $k\bar{a}vyas$  with historical themes, sometimes with the focus on the life of an historical personality.

It is stated earlier that the poets composing the historical  $k\bar{a}vyas$ , were interested in creating literary pieces conveying eternal Indian ideals and values of life. The main aim of

the authors was not to produce a work of history. In their writings, historical information is messed up with myth, legend and imagination. As per A.K. Warder's opinion, the term  $k\bar{a}vya$  means 'literature as a form of art'. It excludes history; 'except when history is made the subject of art, aiming at aesthetic rather than historical 'truth'. The concept of the  $k\bar{a}vya$ s occupies a higher place than historicity of these  $k\bar{a}vya$ s. The historical works can be caritas or biographies and Prabandhas or collections of historical narratives.

2.5.3. Carita Kāvya: Kāvyas centering round a historical character, is designated carita kāvya, a term not at all supported by any treatise on Sanskrit rhetorics. The main reason behind coinage of the name is that the word carita is appended to the name of the hero of the poem. For example, Buddhacarita, Harṣacarita, Navasāhasāṅkacarita, Rāmacarita, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Kumārapālacarita and more. The word carita means glorious achievement or famous deeds. In M. Monier-William's A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, the meaning of the word carita is 'doing', 'practice', 'acts', 'deeds', 'adventures' etc. The kāvyas where the life and achievements of any famous person, usually royal personages, are described are generally called carita kāvya by writers of modern times. These narratives were sometimes composed at the behest of or with the permission of the central character, usually a king or an influential celebrity, who were eager to make posterity remember their activities for ever.

The purpose of these types of narratives is to describe the life and deeds of the main character of the work who is a historical character and famous for his own activity or his influential life which is deemed imitable to the people. Basically these are a type of biographical literature. The poet describes consciously and artistically the incidents of the life of the concerned person. The purpose of the author in these  $k\bar{a}vyas$  is not only to delineate the historical facts about the hero but also to narrate the incidents in a poetic manner to make it more impressive and acceptable as a piece of poetry to the audience. Sometimes the preachers have taken the opportunity to preach their religious belief among the people through these *carita*  $k\bar{a}vyas$ . Yet again when any poet composes the chronicle under the patronage of any king who is the central figure of his composition, naturally he exaggerates the incidents and history becomes of secondary importance. So under these different circumstances, the concept of  $k\bar{a}vya$  and its characteristics occupy a superior place while the historical information is paid little attention or even gets distorted by the poets. K.V. Sharma has rightly remarked, "In Sanskrit, biographical literature has remained practically the

domain of the poet and has been treated as a branch of *belle's letters* like poetry and drama. Sanskrit biographies has resulted in the introduction of poetic fancies and exaggerations in their composition. Biographies in Sanskrit, especially the early ones, have been composed long after the life time of the persons concerned, have the effect of introducing into them much legendary matter and hearsay accounts." Actually, when a poet composes a chronicle under the patronage of any king who is the central figure of his composition he is psychologically forced to exaggerate his achievements and ignore historical events that may darken his patron's glory. In such circumstances the poet pays little attention to reality and pampers metaphorical expressions and hyperbolic imageries.

**2.5.4.** The Tradition of *Carita Kāvyas*: With *Buddhacarita*, the great Sanskrit *mahākāvya*, composed in the first century CE by Aśvaghoṣa in order to depict the life and teachings of Buddha, started the tradition of *carita kāvya*. This *kāvya* may be called the 'first systematic *carita kāvya*' in Sanskrit. Aśvaghoṣa started the tradition of *carita kāvya*s in Sanskrit. After that, the poets readily accepted the model of *carita kāvya* and started to compose *carita kāvya* of different types. From the classical period to modern time, they wrote *carita kāvyas* in the form of *mahākāvya* (court epics), *gadya kāvya* (prose romance), *khanḍa kāvya* (*laghu kāvya*, *ati laghu kāvya*, *stotra*) and *dṛśya kāvya* etc.

In the seventh century we have the *Harşacarita*, the incomplete biography of king Harşa by Bāṇabhaṭṭa which has a unique importance in ancient Indian historical literature in Sanskrit. In the colophon, the *Harṣacarita* is called as a *mahākāvya*, but it is styled by the poet himself as an *ākhyāyikā* in the introductory verses. This *carita kāvya* deals with few episodes of Harṣa's early life. The *kāvya* gives an account of Harṣa's predecessors and the description of his capital Sthāṇvīśvara. It describes the marriage of Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman, a king of Maukhari dynasty, narrates the incident of death of Prabhākaravardhana, father of Harṣa. Next, the self-atonement of Harṣa's mother, the sudden murder of Grahavarman, the imprisonment of Rājyaśrī, the murder of Harṣa's brother, Rājyavardhana II, Harṣa's expedition in search of his sister, the escape of Rājyaśrī, and her rescue are described one after another. The story ends suddenly with the meeting of Rājyaśrī with her brother Harṣa. It may be noted that the historicity of the work is put to question by modern historians and it is called a romantic story rather than sober history.<sup>20</sup> But it is true that *Harṣacarita* was the first attempt available to us to compose a literature taking up a contemporary political and historical figure as the central character. It also has

been a valuable corrective and supplement to the data supplied by Hiuen Tsang and the inscriptions, and gives a cultural picture of the life of the society of the period. It is admitted that this work is not regarded as a pure history, but it is also true that Bāṇa has not committed to write history, but a *carita*.<sup>21</sup> He was the court poet of Harṣa. So, it is natural that he glorifies his patron hiding the weaker sides of him. In this context, the opinion of R.K. Mukherjee can be quoted, "Bāṇa, who wrote on Harṣa, as his court poet from his personal and intimate knowledge of his life and rule...Thus in Bāṇa Harṣa found his Boswell; but, though the historical value of the work as a whole is somewhat vitiated by its occasional outbursts of hero-worship and flights of fancy, to which a poet laureate's panegyric on his royal patron naturally lends itself, the line between fact and fiction is easily discernible, and the kernel of truth separated from its envelop of embellishments and exaggerations."<sup>22</sup>

The Navasāhaśānkacarita of Padmagupta or Parimala, the court poet of Navasāhaśānka of Mālava was composed in the middle of eleventh century. The story deals with the marriage of Sindhurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśīprabhā. Sindhurāja Navasāhaśānka killed Vajrānkuśa, the enemy of Nāgas and brought the golden lotus from Vajra's pond. After fulfilling the promise made to Śaśīprabhā's father, finally he tied the knot with her. The poet Padmagupta has presented this story in a wonderful poetical style glorigying his patron. The work is composed in eighteen cantos, in the form of a mahākāvya. This carita kāvya is considered fairly high as a kāvya, but it has not much value as an historical account. Though it throws some light on the historical facts, which is helpful to reconstruct the history of the Paramāra dynasty, the facts need to be compared with the information available in grants and inscriptions of the said time. The main object of poet Padmagupta's poetry was to sing the glories of his patron as a hero. The poet has used exaggerative expressions to describe Navasāhaśānka's marriage with Śaśīprabhā, which is a historical event. But the myths, legends and idealistic narrations overpower the main object and it becomes very difficult to pick out particular details with certainty. Chandra Prabha has mentioned in her book in this context that "those who are acquainted with the courtpoets' method of description and the Indian inclination to change the historical facts into myths will not doubt even for a moment that the *Navasāhaśāṅkacarita* rests throughout upon a historical basis. Moreover some trifling details occur in the  $k\bar{a}vya$  in which the seemingly fanciful legend of the kāvya disappears and the real fact comes to light."23

The Vikramānkadevacarita was composed by Bilhana, a Kashmiri poet of eleventh century. As a panegyric in honour of his patron and protector Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the king of Cālukya dynasty. The poet was Vidyāpati or the director of education of the said dynasty. He composed the *carita kāvya* in order to present the history of Cālukya kings in general and Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya VI in particular. The poet has started his poetry with the description of the mythical origin of Cālukyas and then has given the account of the earlier kings from Tailapa. The work also attains the detailed account of the exploits of Vikramāditya's father followed by his conquest and accession. After that, the events of Vikramāditya's birth, the incidents of his youth are produced in the style of a chronicle. Next happens the marriage of the prince with a Cola princess and his campaign in South India takes place. Vikramāditya's accession after supplanting his elder brother Someśvara II, the defeat of his younger brother Jayasimha and several wars with the Colas are described in this narrative. The *carita kāvya* contains usually embellished descriptions of royal marriages and wars. But when the poet describes the wars fought by Vikramāditya, he 'relapses into the rhapsodic treatment of his subject'.<sup>24</sup> The historical facts narrated here are corroborated by the inscriptional evidences, yet 'they are overshadowed by the poetic style of Bilhana.'25 There are few incidents which are historically important, but these are unduly enlarged with the description of seasons and court amusements. So, this *carita kāvya* may be called a semi-accurate work of history on Cālukyas which is predominantly characterized by poetic exaggerations.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the versified dynastic chronicle of Kashmir kings is the much celebrated historical work of India which was composed by Kalhaṇa in the middle of twelfth century collecting materials and information from various sources including existing chronicles of Kashmir. It preserves the history of the kings of Kashmir since the days of remote antiquity till the authors's time. It contains eight *taraṅga*s in Sanskrit and deals with the history of several dynasties of Kashmir. Though it is not designated *carita kāvya*, it will not be out of context here to mention that it is the nearest approach by an ancient Indian author to write history with the ideal of modern history.<sup>26</sup>

Next Sandhyākaranandin's  $R\bar{a}macarita$  is also a celebrated carita  $k\bar{a}vya$ . The poet of Bengal has composed his unique work in four cantos cointaining 220 verses in  $\bar{A}ry\bar{a}$  metre and in the Sanskrit popular figure of speech  $\dot{s}lesa$  or double entendré where each verse contains at least two different meanings. One meaning refers to Rāmacandra of  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ 

and the other to the Gauḍa king Rāmapāla of the Bengal Pāla dynasty.<sup>27</sup> The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin is counted as a very remarkable work as it contains many historical events of Pāla dynasty of Bengal. To show the historical excellence of the poem, this statement may be quoted, "It gives an historical account of the successful revolution in Northern Bengal which cost the Pāla king Mahīpāla his life and throne, and of the restoration of the paternal kingdom by Rāmapāla, his youngest brother. This great revolution, and specially the restoration, forms the main theme of the work, and we know of no other Indian text which deals with an important contemporary historical episode with such wealth of details." However, this *carita kāvya* is not completely free from the fault of exaggerated eulogistic descriptions which are very common in almost all biographical Sanskrit compositions. The double meaning technique of the composition sometimes renders it difficult and complex for the readers to follow the actual historical events.

The *Gaudavaho* of Vākpatirāja, the drama *Karṇasundarī* by Bilhaṇa, the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka, *Madhurāvijayakāvya* of Gaṅgādevī and many regional chronicles are the examples of *carita kāvya*s composed by the poets of Brhmanical belief and these works also prove that there was a long time practice of writing chronicles which continued for a long time.

2.5.5. Jagadūcarita as a Carita Kāvya: The present text under investigation, Jagadūcarita, may be called a carita kāvya as it narrates the carita or acts or the deeds and achievement of Jagadū, the central character of the poem. The hero of the poem is undoubtedly a historical character and he achieved a remarkable place through his acts in his lifetime among the people in his native town. Jagadū became so popular that his great deeds have been remembered by the later generations of Gujarat as well as the neighbouring territories. Gradually many other authors started to compose the life history of Jagadū. As already stated Sarvāṇanda Sūri composed the Jagadūcarita after almost hundred years of Jagadū's death. Naturally, the narratives about Jagadū have not been presented in true historical manner. The time gap between the hero and the composer of the narrative being nearly hundred years, the author took the advantage of making his composition more like a creative kāvya than a representative of sober history, knowing that nobody would ever challenge the veracity of his statements.

The poets of these so-called *carita kāvya*s always were sure that they were composing *mahākāvya*s. However, in view of the general characteristics of *carita kāvya*s discussed earlier, *Jagadūcarita* may be said to belong to that genre keeping in mind the terminology of the modern writers of history of Sanskritic literature. Bühler has called it a "historical romance". He has not discussed further about the category of this *kāvya*, but mentions that the *carita kāvya* is different from other popular works of this category. In his words "It differs from the other works of the same kind, like the *Śrī-Harshacarita* of Bāṇa, the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara and the *Sukṛitasaṅkīrtana* of Arisiṁha, only by its comparatively late origin, by a want of artistic finish and by the circumstance that its hero is not a king or minister, but a simple merchant, who did much for his native town by rebuilding its walls, and for Gujarat by alleviating the wide-spread distress during a terrible famine in A.D. 1256-58."<sup>29</sup>

**2.5.6.** The Jain Tradition of *Carita Kāvya:* The Jain poets who have also composed the *carita kāvyas* have made significant contribution to the tradition. There was an emerging trend of composing  $k\bar{a}vyas$  in the Jain circle from about eighth century which were devoted mainly to Jain preachers. Though the people who were confessed to the faith of Mahāvīra mainly wrote these, but the effect was not limited to those of this faith, but spread over the whole Indian sub-continent. They started religious propaganda through this poetical form. Their works were edifying and aimed at spreading the religious faith. So not all works going under the name of  $k\bar{a}vya$ , are considered as of purely literary nature. There were of course quite a few Jain poems of high quality. They were learned persons and composed their works in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhramśa. The  $k\bar{a}vya$ s really belong to the narrative literature or as they deal with holy places and the legends associated with them, to the category known as  $m\bar{a}h\bar{a}tmyas$ , i.e., works describing great men or places of pilgrimage.<sup>30</sup>

The Jain authors of early and early medieval India usually composed the biographic accounts of Jain holy personages who were celebrated in Jain tradition in order to invest them with sanctity and authority that could well evoke for them universal acceptance. There was hardly any scope to exaggerate the ideal of conduct and philosophical doctrine. But the Jain authors did not collect the material for composing their  $k\bar{a}vyas$  only from the Jain canons, narrative literature or the legends about the Jain saints. They had shown a long tradition of fondness for the two Sanskrit epics the  $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$  and the  $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$  as well as especially the  $Pur\bar{a}nas$ . They started to present the stories with quite a new touch which

laid the foundations of a new literary tradition. It is 'part epic, part poetic, corresponding more closely to the  $k\bar{a}vya$  style'.<sup>31</sup> The Jain authors started to compose the *caritas* in the form of  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vyas$  following the glorious tradition that originated with Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa.

The Jain poets often enjoyed the patronage of kings or high officials at royal courts like their counterparts with Brahmanical faith. When they composed the  $k\bar{a}vyas$  centering an actual person their creations are reckoned as historical  $k\bar{a}vyas$  in modern terminology. But they may be held historical only in the broad sense of the word. They generally produced the incidents and the characters in favour of their patron and naturally history got compromised there. Actually the main object of these poets was to produce an effectively poetical piece which would help him earn praise and reward from his patron and critics, but not a piece of serious historical interest. The poets worked on historical themes on the whole but their attempt was to conform to the rhetorical prescriptions. They followed the conventions of  $k\bar{a}vya$  and placed the hero (who is incidentally an historical character) in that setting. The poet was always in praise of the glorious deeds of the hero most of which may have happened only in the world of fanciful imagination. In S. Lienhard's word "As it was the poet's intention to say nothing but good of his protector and to prophesy auspicious things for him, as in praéastis, eulogies on kings, ministers etc., truth and fiction are mingled quite uncritically."  $^{32}$ 

Sarvāṇanda Sūri, the author of *Jagaḍūcarita* was a Gujarat based poet and a follower of Jainism. For many years Gujarat was the main seat of Jain poetry and learning. Several hagiographies and texts based on historical characters were composed in Gujarat from early times. Few of these works are being noted here.

The *Kumārapālacarita* was composed by the famous Jain author Hemacandra Sūri (1088-1172 CE), a poem of very special nature being a *dvyāśraya kāvya* (a poem in two languages, viz. Sanskrit and Prakrit). The work extols the life history of the Caulukya king Kūmārapāla who was converted to Jainism under the influence of his court poet Hemacandra Sūri. The semi-historical *kāvya* supplies valuable information regarding the history of the Caulukyas of Gujarat and it preserves a few historical facts which are not found elsewhere. The *kāvya* is comprised of twenty cantos in Sanskrit, and eight cantos in Prakrit. It serves two purposes simultaneously- presenting the accounts of the Caulukya kings and illustrating the rules of the author's grammatical treatise *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana* in perfect order.<sup>33</sup>

The main interest of the work lies in propagation of Jainism in Gujarat and it specially emphasizes on Kūmārapāla's effort to turn Gujarat into a model Jain state. From the very beginning, the Jain community received the support of the Caulukya kings. The Caulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja was a great patron of Jainism. But during Kūmārapāla's reign, Gujarat became the stronghold of the Jains. Possibly Kumārapāla was the most celebrated ruler of Caulukya dynasty. There are about half a dozen chronicles attributed to him by the Jain poets dealing mainly with the life of the king and his conversion to Jainism referring to the teachings of Jainism in this context.<sup>34</sup>

The *Kīrtikaumudī* is a panegyric by Someśvaradeva (1179-1262 CE) to celebrate his patron Vastupāla, the Jain minister of Caulukya kingdom. The poet Someśvaradeva was the family priest and court poet of Lavaṇaprasāda or Lāvaṇaprasāda. This *carita* about Jain minister Vastupāla claims an exceptional place in this genre of *kāvya* as it deals with the life of an influential royal personage, who was not king. Another special feature of the composition is that it is the creation of a poet of Brahmanical belief in eulogy of a Jain patron. The work gives an account of the Vāghelā kings, who called themselves Caulukyas. According to A.K. Majumdar, "the narrative in the second canto of the *kīrtikaumudī* upto the death of Mūlarāja II gives possibly the best history of the Chaulukyas up to that period. His description of the Yādava invasion of Gujarat is also graphic and convincing. But his main intention in writing the book was to eulogize Vastupāla, and it is obvious that in describing the activities of the minister, he indulges in all sorts of exaggerations." The poetry holds significant importance from the point of view of the poetic charm as well as of the history of the concerned period.

Another chronicle was composed in praise of the same Vastupāla in thirteenth century CE by Arisimha. The poetry named *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* tells about the pilgrimages and religious sites as well as charitable deeds of Vastupāla. Vastupāla, who served the Vāghelā king Vīradhavala and his son Vīsaladeva, was Arisimha's patron. At the very beginning of his *kāvya*, Arisimha gives the description of the Cāpotkaṭa or Cāvḍā dynasty starting from Vanarāja, the founder of Aṇahilapattana. This is followed by a list of Caulukya kings from Mūlarāja to Bhima II. The narrative is written in the form of *mahākāvya* and is divided into eleven cantos. From the appellations of Arisimha it seems that he belonged to the Rajput community, but no certain information in available about his religious faith. The speciality of this poetry lies in several details found here which other poets are silent about.

Another poem extoling Vastupāla is *Vasantavilāsa*, a typical *mahākāvya* in fourteen cantos was composed by Bālachandra Sūri, a pupil of Haribhadra Sūri. It was written soon after Vastupāla's death (c.1242 CE) for the pleasure of his son Jaitrasimha. The author seems eager to establish himself as a good poet. The poem is full of many irrelevant conventional descriptions leaving scanty space for historical information. However, some information about the hero Vastupāla is given incidentally which can be relied upon.

The *Vastupālacarita* is written by Jinaharṣa where he eulogizes Vastupāla, the minister as a statesman, warrior, philanthropist, poet, patron of poets, and constructor of temples and founder of a big manuscript library.<sup>36</sup>

2.5.7. A Comparative Study of Jagadūcarita with Other Contemporary Caritas Specially the Śvetāmbara Jain trend of mediaeval India celebrated the activities of Jain followers in different forms of literary works. There were short hymns, prose accounts and also the elaborate court poetry. There were also collections of biographies or prabandhas, generally assembling separate accounts of kings and lay devotees. Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmaņi is such a collection of writings on the lives of famous kings who had patronized Jainism. The Jagadūcarita of Sarvāṇanda Sūri was composed probably at the beginning of the fourteenth century CE in Gujarat. It has been mentioned already that Gujarat has been a centre of excellence from a long period of time for the study of Jain canons and teachings. This tradition of preaching the Jain religion prevailed through compositions of caritas of Jain tīrthankaras, ācāryas and powerful personalities who were the followers of Jain religion. The celebrated Jain polymath Hemacandra Sūri (c. 1088-1172 CE), a poet, a grammarian of two languages (Sanskrit and Prakrit) and a historian, may be credited with accelerating the process. Hemacandra took the great responsibility of spreading Jainism through his  $k\bar{a}vyas$ . Many contemporary Jain authors followed this path and started to write caritas. After almost 150 years of Hemacandra, Sarvāṇanda Sūri composed the *carita* on the life of Jagadū, a Jain merchant and philanthropist. Between the years, many *caritas* were composed centering the Jain *ācāryas* and personalities adherent to Jainism. Two Jain ministers of Caulukya kingdom, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla are noteworthy among them. Earlier it has been mentioned that there was no such division as carita kāvya in Sanskrit rhetorics. The composers of carita kāvyas composed their poems mainly as mahākāvyas. These types of composition with historical figures as central characters, have a special approach which is considered in this section. The comparative study is done

according to two main criteria, viz. the purpose of composing the *carita*s and the general diction of these  $k\bar{a}vya$ s.

Hemacandra spent his life under the patronage of two Caulukya kings of Gujarat. Of them the first was Siddharāja (c.1092-1142 CE) who extended his royal patronage to the young Jain monk Hemacandra in return of which the Jain grammarian poet gratefully immortalized Siddharāja's name in the name of his grammatical treatise Siddha-Hemacandra. He also composed the Trişaşţiśalākāpuruşacarita, whose appendix is called Sthavirāvalicarita or Parisistaparvan, in which he wrote the biographies of Jain ācāryas upto Vrajasvāmī. Later it was completed by Prabhācandra in his composition called *Prabhāvakacarita* c. 1277 CE. It contains the biographies of twenty-two Jain ācāryas. The main purpose of Prabhācandra's work was to glorify the activities of Jain ācāryas, but in order to provide a historical background to their activities he has introduced several others like as Paramāra Bhoja, Caulukya king Bhīma I, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla. Starting from the life of Jain ācārya Vrajasvāmī, Prabhācandra brought his narrative down to the biography of Hemacandra. The chapter of *Prabhāvakacarita* is called *Śri-Hemacandra-Sūricaritam* which is the earliest and most reliable biography of Hemacandra. Hemacandra was a very ardent follower of Jainism, but he did not convert his first patron Siddharāja. But the next king Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism under the influence of Hemacandra. According to all accounts, without any exception, Kumārapāla was the greatest supporter of Jainism. Usually, many *carita*s were composed in honour of this great patron of Jainism by the Jain authors.

The Prakrit portion of *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* of Hemacandra, also known as *Kumāpālacarita* eulogizes his patron Caulukya Kumārapāla and provides valuable information regarding the history of the Caulukyas of Gujarat. While portraying the history of Caulukya kings, Hemacandra has not missed any information relevant to Jainism. The poet has mentioned that the great Jain monk Jineśvara Sūri along with his *guru* Vardhamāna Sūri visited the court of Durlabharāja (predecessor of Caulukya king Bhīma I) in Aṇahilapāṭaka. There Jineśvara defeated the *Caityavāsin*s and got the title of *Kharatara* (very strong/ sharp). Later Jineśvara succeeded his preceptor and *Kharataragaccha* became the name of the sect led by him. Abhayatilakagaṇi has taken the liberty to comment on a verse (VII. 64) that the king Durlabharāja himself received the lessons of Jainism from Jineśvara Sūri. Hemacandra has noted that his first patron Jayasimha Siddharāja was also a

great follower of Jainism and he built a temple of Mahāvīrasvāmin at Siddhapura and visited the temple of Neminātha on mount Raivataka as well the temple of Rṣabhadeva (XV. 60-91). Hemacandra has reserved the highest position for Kumārapāla in his descriptions Though Kumārapāla did not neglect the faith of his ancestors, he favoured and actively promoted Jainism. He is said to have introduced many measures for this purpose, but the singularly Jain reference in this context is found in the prohibition of slaughter of animals. He also prohibited gambling, drinking, and other vices. Hemacandra tells us that even in the sacrifices performed to Brahmanical gods, animals would not be offered and slaughtered (XX. 27). Thus he wanted to end the acts of cruelty in his reign. But, it is worth noting here that after Hemachandra, the Jain monks who composed the caritas have not completely maintained the highest ethical rule and path of non-violence (ahimsā). Following the conventions of  $k\bar{a}vya$ , they wrote not only the descriptions of the seasons, sunsets, nature etc. but also included erotic passages and even descriptions of scenes of battle.<sup>37</sup> The Jagadūcarita has noted a long description of encounter with Pīthadeva and Jagadū.<sup>38</sup> Pīṭhadeva prevented Jagaḍū when he tried to build the new rampart in Bhadreshwar which was destroyed by Pīṭhadeva himself with a challenge that "when two horns grow on the head of an ass, then you will erect here a rampart." Jagadū finally was able to build the rampart and he sent a statue of golden ass with two horns which resembled the image of Pīṭhadeva's mother. This caused him excessive grief and ultimately he died. This description may be said to be matching the writing style of a mahākāya, but the Jain monk Sarvāṇanda seems to have degraded himself from the highest ethical rule of Jainism, i.e. non-violence and cruelty. In spite of being a lay follower of Jainism, Jagadū is said to have been engaged in battle with the Caulukya army and conquered the irresistible mudgalas. 40 Bālacandra, composer of Vasantavilāsa, a carita about the merchant minister Vastupāla has showcased the achievements of Vastupāla, one of which was the victory over a wealthy merchant Said or Sadik, who was being assisted by Śankha, the ruler of Lata. 41 Being provoked by Śankha, Vastupāla's reaction was, "It is a delusion too think that kṣatriyas alone can fight and not a Vanik. I am a Vanik well known in the shop of battlefield. I buy commodities, the heads of enemies, weighing them in the scale of swords. I pay the price in the form of Heaven" (I.43-44). The Jain author poet has written these violent dialogues for the character transgressing the ideals of Jainism. The character and the convention of composing the  $k\bar{a}vva$  may demand this, but the ideal of Jainism is hampered any way. Actually the poets composed their *caritas* following the Brahmanical poetical tradition. They also wanted to popularize their writings

among the mass. Starting from the time of Hemacandra, for the next hundred years, the Jains dominated the intellectual and academic life of Gujarat. Then the rulers or ministers also held faith in Jainism. But from the beginning of fourteenth century influence of Jainism was on the wane. The  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  was composed in this time and though poet has all the good intention to spread Jainism through his carita, he wanted to compose his poetry following the Brahamnical style of writing. In the invocation of his  $k\bar{a}vya$ , he has addressed to goddess Sarasvatī along with the arhats. He has avoided the allusions to Jain legends and followed the Purāṇic illustrations. Sometimes the poet Sarvāṇanda has slavishly imitated the Bhamincal allusions in several descriptions; for example, in his utterance on the death of Jain monk Paramadeva that his death 'caused deep joy to the eyes of the maids of heaven'. <sup>42</sup> Jina's world would be a more expected and suitable reference for Jaina Paramadeva to reach beyond life.

The *caritas* of the concerned time has maintained a common special feature. The Jain poets generally did not encourage bigotry against other religious communities. Further, their amiable relation and respect for other faiths were also remarkable. The two main religious communities of this period were the 'Hindus' (Brahmanical/Puranic) and the Jains. It appears from the *caritas* that they maintained harmonious relationship with each other. Hemacandra has written in his chronicle Kumārapālacarita that being a great patron and follower of Jainism, he restored the temple of Somanath, a prominent centre of Śaivism. The caritas about Vastupāla and Tejahpāla<sup>43</sup> credit them for the construction and restoration of large number of temples. The accounts are often exaggerated and some of the temples cannot be identified at present, but Girnar temple of Mallinātha, and the Abu temple of Neminātha are ascribed to them. They did numerous donations to 'Hindu' temples. The 'Hindu' poet Someśvara praised highly of his Jain patron Vastupāla and mentioned that he worshipped Somanātha at Devapattana. 44 Jagadūcarita states that Jagadū built many 'Hindu' and Jain temples in Bhadreshwar and nearby area. In the town of Kunnada he caused to make a restoration at Hariśamkara temple which was probably a 'Hindu' shrine. 45 He also made his prayer to a 'Hindu' god seeking boon for a son. All the *caritas* by the Jain authors without exception stick to the purpose of spreading Jainism through glorification of the religious and philanthropic activities of the heroes of their caritas. But they did not put any reference which speaks about racism or communal prejudice. The religious tolerance and harmony were initiated by the authors in course of enumerating the list of activities of the heroes of their compositions.

# 2.6. Relocation of the Text in the Sphere of the Mahākāvyas

**2.6.1.** Classical Sanskrit  $K\bar{a}vya$ : Etymologically the term  $k\bar{a}vya$  means the work of a poet: kaveh karma  $k\bar{a}vyam$ . This meaning conveys a broad sense though in literary criticism, the term  $k\bar{a}vya$  technically means a special type of literary creation. This concept of  $k\bar{a}vya$  may be noted from Mammața's  $K\bar{a}vyaprak\bar{a}sa$  (I. 2):

"सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूतं समन्तरमेव रसास्वादनसमुद्धूतं विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्दं प्रभुसम्मितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्यः सुहृत्सम्मितार्थतात्पर्यवत् पुराणादीतिहासेभ्यश्च शब्दार्थयोर्गुणभावेन रसाङ्गभूतव्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षणं यत् काव्यं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म.."

" $k\bar{a}vya$  is that which touches the inmost cords of the human mind and diffuses itself into the crevices of the heart, working up a lasting sense of delight. It is an expression in beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which is the spectacle of life, awakening the finest souls"  $^{46}$ 

Warder means by the term  $k\bar{a}vya$  'a form of art'. He has clarified that three other branches of composition are different from it. "(1) scriptures or 'canonical' works  $\bar{a}gama$ ; (2) tradition of history  $itih\bar{a}sa$ ; (3) systematic treatises on any subject  $s\bar{a}stra$ ."<sup>47</sup>

There is no direct evidence to identify or mark the origin of classical Sanskrit kāvya literature. It is assumed that the verses of Sanskrit poetry were written following the manner of the Rāmāyaṇa. Many historians of Sanskrit literature have traced back the origin of Sanskrit kāvya literature to the ancient vedic songs and find the seed in the Narāśaṃsa and Dānastuti of Rgveda or the Kuntāpa hymns of Atharvaveda or in the semi-dramatic and impassioned Saṃvāda-Ākhyānas, etc. It is, however, certain that there was a long prehistory of Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, even before the creation of the Vedas. The use of so many types of metres, the matured poetic expressions, the imageries and figures of speech employed in the vedic verses point to this direction. But the two great Epics: the Rāmāyaṇa and the *Mahābhārata* are considered as the direct predecessors of Sanskrit *kāvya*. Dasgupta and De has rightly commented "There is no need, therefore, to trace back the origin of the Kāvya literature in the far-off Vedic hymns.... The tradition of a non-religious literature was already there from remote antiquity surviving through long centuries as a strong undercurrent and occasionally coming to the surface in the more conventional literature; but the immediate precursor of the kāvya is undoubtedly the Epics, which themselves further develop these secular, and in a sense, popular tendencies of the earlier Vedic literature."48

 $K\bar{a}vyas$  may be long or short in extent and accordingly they are called  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}yas$  or  $laghuk\bar{a}vyas$ . The term  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  is derived from the combination of two words, viz., mahat (big) and  $k\bar{a}vya$  (poetry). Thus the word  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}ya$  stands for a big poem. It is correctly stated that "the  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}ya$  as an extensive and an elevated poetic endeavour, probably came to be regarded as the highest type of composition and as the indispensable test of a great poet."  $^{50}$ 

The *laghukāvya*s became more popular as they are short and also require less time and energy on the part of both the poet and the audience. Therefore the extant *mahākāyas* are not too many in number. Here it happens that "lack of quantity has been amply made up for by quality. For, in dignity of style, depth of thought and majesty of movement, the *mahākāya* is by far the best expression which the Sanskrit literary artist has found for his genius."<sup>51</sup>

**2.6.2.** *Mahākāvya: Mahākāvya* is essentially defined as *sargabandha*. The term sargabandha is mentioned by almost all the Sanskrit rhetoricians in their definitions of the mahākāvya. The Rāmāyaṇa, an ādikāvya (first ever poem) in its own terminlogy, is divided into kāndas which are again subdivided into sargas. It seems that the nomenclature (sargabandha) is inspired by the Rāmāyanic usage. All characteristics of later classical Sanskrit poetry are already present in the *ādikāvya*. It will be not be inappropriate in this context quoting V. Raghavan, "for theme and treatment, for metres and their varieties, for style and for the portrayal of characters and emotions, the classical authors of  $k\bar{a}vvas$  took Vālmīki, the ādikāvi, as their guide."52 Another mahākāvva, the Mahābhārata (which calls itself *Itihāsa*) is also considered a perennial source for innumerable literary creations of later times. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has venerated Vyāsa (and not Vālmīki) as the creator of poets (kavivedhas) and the Mahābhārata as the greatest literary creation for ever. 53. But western scholars, unable to penetrate the hard outer shell of the Great Epic to reach the core containing the sweet nectar of poetic charm, seem not to be fascinated by its simple, straight, unostentatious and unadorned style and according to them the Mahābhārata is better to be designated a 'Primitive Epic', instead of an Ornate Poetry.<sup>54</sup>

The term *sargabandha* seems to be very appropriate as per the prescribed format of the poem and this defining feature has become synonymous with the term *mahākāvya*. However, the term *mahākāvya* is the correct indicator of its real nature, i.e. the physical volume and vastness of matter. The term *mahākāvya* got accepted among the rhetoricians gradually and

sargabandha was used in the definition of it. According to many scholars it is Bhāmaha who comes first with the definition of a mahākāvya in his book Kāvyālamkāra. After that Dandin in his Kāvyādarśa has framed the definition of mahākāvya. However, the chronological order of Bhāmaha and Dandin is debated till date. According to P.V. Kane, "Bhāmaha flourished after 700 A.D. and Dandin about 660-680 A.D."55 Surendra Nath Dasgupta and S.K. Dey hold that Dandin is later than Bhāmaha.<sup>56</sup> Here the definitions of mahākāvya according to these two rhetoricians are being discussed one by one. According to Bhāmaha, "The mahākāvya should be divided into chapters called sargas, it should describe the feats of the big and should in itself be big. It should be devoid of vulgarity of expression; should have profound significance; should be endowed with embellishments (alankāras) and should describe the feats of good persons. It should consist of the descriptions of state councils, messengers, travels, war and good fortunes of the hero. It should contain the five sandhis as well and it should not be too descriptive and should have a happy ending. While dialating on the fourfold object of human existence, he chiefly mentions the acquisition of wealth, conforming to the ways of the world and containing the various *Rasas*. After having first placed the Nāyaka (hero) by extolling his ancestry, prowess, knowledge etc., do not narrate his destruction with the object of enhancing the glory of another. If he is not intended to dominate the whole poem and further is not to participate in the (final) success, it is useless to describe him in the beginning."57

Daṇḍin's definition of *mahākāvya* (*Kāvyādarśa*, I. 14-19)<sup>58</sup> is not much different from that of Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin has mentioned about the opening of the *mahākāvya*, which is a composition in *sargas*, is either a benediction, a salutation or a suggestion of the main theme of the poetry. "It springs from a historical incident or is otherwise based upon some fact; it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble. There will be the descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons, and risings of the moon or the Sun, sporting in garden or water, festivities of drinking, sentiments of love and separation through marriages, the birth and rise of princes, and likewise state council, embassy, battle, hero's triumph. Embellished; not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions; with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished; - such a poem processing good figures of speech wins the people's heart and endures longer than (even) a *kalpa*." Thus stands the definition of *mahākāvya* in the *Kāvyādarśa*. These definitions have been accepted and followed by almost all the later rhetoricians. They have presented it either

with slight variations or with some improvisations. Viśvanātha (c.  $14^{th}$  century CE) has given also a very similar definition in his  $S\bar{a}hityadarpaṇa$ . (VI. 315-324). Only Rudraṭa has a different view on the development of the story and the regular setting of description in his  $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}lamk\bar{a}ra$  (XVI. 7-18).

**2.6.3.** *Jagaḍūcarita* as *Mahākāvya*: The poet Sarvāṇanda has followed the characteristics prescribed by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Another popular work on Sanskrit rhetorics is the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by Viśvanātha which was probably composed after Sarvāṇanda's time. According to Viśvanātha, a *mahākāvya* should be divided into *sarga*s, the number of which should not be less than eight, <sup>61</sup> and this stipulation of number of *sargas* is not maintained in *Jagaḍūcarita* which contains seven cantos only. The characteristics of the hero, the source of the story, the style of narration, the employment of metres, the *rasa* (sentiment), the diction of writing, the descriptions of different matters for nourishment of the theme are laid down in treatises on Sanskrit rhetorics. Here follows an attempt to relocate the *Jagaḍūcarita* in the sphere of *mahākāvyas* with reference to Sanskritic rhetorical concept.

**Structure:** A poem divided into sargas (cantos) is called  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$ . Daṇḍin and almost all of the later rhetoricians express a similar view that these cantos should not be very long in extent. The  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  has seven cantos and it contains total 388 verses unequally distributed among the cantos; these are neither too long, nor too short. The  $k\bar{a}vya$  opens with invocations addressed to Pārśvajinanātha and goddess Sarasvatī. (JC, I. 1-4).

The Hero: Jagadū the hero abides by the required characteristics of a mahākāvyik hero (nāyaka) as described by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Jagaḍū is prosperous and dignified. He was a wealthy merchant and admired within his community as well as by the neighourhood rulers for his political and philanthropic engagement. (JC, IV. 41). He has been introduced with a description of his prowess and the family to which he belonged. The origin of his family and names of the ancestors have been noted in the text. (JC, I. 15-45, II. 28, III. 2). These characteristics follow Bhāmaha's definition of the hero of a mahākāvya. Following Daṇḍin Jagaḍū is clever (catura) and wise and noble (udātta). Later Viśvanātha has moderated the charecteristics of a dhīrodātta hero (self-controlled and exalted) as one who is magnanimous, exceedingly graceful, not boastful, resolute, with high spirit concealed, and faithful to his promise. <sup>62</sup> Jagadū's cleverness is praised throughout the carita by the poet.

His capabilities to take decisions in critical situations bestow on him the characteristics of a catura nāyaka. When Pīṭhadeva attacked Bhadreshwar, Jagaḍū realized that he alone himself would not be able to resist him. He sought the help from Lavaṇaprasāda of Aṇahilapāṭaka. (JC, IV. 16) at the right time. Jagaḍū is portrayed as a very wise and noble hero. Jayantasimha, the agent of Jagaḍū stationed at Hormuz for conducting maritime business, once spent a lot of money to obtain a large stone, but Jagaḍū embraced him despite huge loss of money. Later he managed to earn enormous wealth from this stone. (JC, IV. 2-33). Jagaḍū's generosity and faithfulness to keep his promise to help the famine stricken people of Gujarat surely evince him as an uddāta nāyaka.

**About the Story:** Bhāmaha opines that a *mahākāvya* may draw its theme from the life story of some noble personality (*sadāśraya*). *Itihāsa* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *and Purāṇas*), other related works or life of a noble personality (*itihāsakathodbhūtam itarad vā sadāśrayam*) should be taken as the source of the theme according to Daṇḍin. The story of Jagaḍū has not been taken from *Itihāsa*, but based on the life and deeds of a noble man, a living legend of Gujarat, whom the poet Sarvāṇanda selects as the hero of the *mahākāvya*.

The Narration: As Daṇḍin stipulates, the treatment of the subject matter in the *mahākāvya Jagaḍūcarita* is not executed in brief. It has covered all the aspects of hero Jagaḍū. Starting from his genealogy, his birth, his family, trading activity, political engagement, religious inclination, pilgrimages and altruistic activities till his death have been furnished in the poem. Though it is an historical *kāvya*, we observe lengthy descriptions commonly found in the *mahākāvya*s. The long description of the city of Bhadreshwar along with its mountains, temples, buildings, wells, season etc. is drawn in the second canto of *Jagaḍūcarita*. Mount Śratuñjaya and Girnar are elaborately painted in the sixth canto. Marriage and birth of children are not also missing (*JC*, VI. 16-22). The poetry also illustrates successful war of the hero against his opponent (*JC*, IV. 3-41, and VI. 65) which is prescribed by almost all rhetoricians as a feature of the narration to be designated a *mahākāvya*.

The *Rasa* (sentiment): According to theoreticians of Sanskrit poetics, one of the essential characteristics of poetry is the delineation of sentiment (*rasa*). In general the *mahākāvya* has to be characterized by a principal sentiment nourished by other subordinate ones. This predominant sentiment permeates through the entire length of the poem. Others should be

treated as accessories. The predominant sentiment of the  $k\bar{a}vya$   $Jagad\bar{u}catira$  is  $\dot{s}\bar{a}nta$  or tranquility. Since it is an historical poem, the sentiment of  $v\bar{v}ra$  or heroism too is present as in the description of the confrontation with enemies.

**The Metres:** The poet Sarvāṇanda has used a variety of metres. He has generally followed the dictum of using one metre throughout a canto switching over to different ones towards the end. The poet uses *Vasantatilaka*, *Upajāti*, *Anuṣṭubh* as the main metres. Besides he employs *Mālinī*, *Sragdharā*, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Svāgatā, Dodhaka, Śālinī, Vaṁśasthavila, Upendravajrā, Śikhariṇī, Āryā, Vaitālīya, Indravaṁśā, Pramitākṣarā etc.

The poet Sarvāṇanda has presented his composition in the *mahākāvya* style of Brahmanical standard. The author, a Jain monk, had studied Sanskrit grammar, poetics, metrics and the Brahmanical Epics and *Purāṇas*. But the standard of excellence which a Brahmanical poetry requires could not be reached. While using the poetical ornaments or *alaṁkāras*, he cannot go beyond the common ones like *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*, Śleṣa and *Atiśayokti*. Those too are not very nicely composed and the words and meanings do not always complement each other. As already pointed out, the poet is not comfortable with complex *alaṁkāras*. The poetry often poses as a metrical composition in an obscure language. There are also occasional use of wrong words and violations of grammatical rules. Sarvāṇanda profusely uses expletives like *ca*, *tu*, *hi*, *atha*, *kila*, *tadānīm*, *sutarām* and like merely to make up the metrical feet and this habit does not help his composition sound charming to ears and mind.

### 2.7. Comparative Study of the Text with Other Similar Accounts

2.7.1. Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha*: *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvāṇanda Sūri is not the only literary composition narrating the life and the deeds of Jagaḍū, but there are many other accounts about this hero, who was so much involved in philanthropic services for the people of Bhadreshwar in Kutch. It is mentioned in some sources that several Jain writers have composed the story of Jagaḍū, but all of these works are not available today. Of these accounts few historical threads can be picked up from the absurd legends and may be compared with the account under discussion. One such text that deserves mention is *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha* composed by Śubhaśīlagaṇi composed in Vikrama Samvat 1521 or 1463–1464 CE. Śubhaśīlagaṇi is said to be the pupil of Munsisundara.<sup>63</sup> The

eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth *sambandha*s of this composition is contained with a version of Jagaḍū's story written in a haphazard mixture of Guajarati and Sanskrit languages.

Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha*, which is evidently different from *Jagaḍūcarita* is full of absurd legends. It may be that a long interval of time, turned the story of Jagaḍū into myth. The latter account is composed much earlier than the former and the poet Sarvāṇanda had access to more reliable sources of the story than Śubhaśīlagaṇi. Some instances are discussed in this portion for substantiating the point.

The purchase of the large stone in the island of Haramīja or Ormuzd (Hormuz) in the Persian Gulf by an agent of Jagaḍū is described in the eighteenth *sambandha*. This large stone later happens in that way which produced precious jewels. There is a story in this context that, a rival merchant also claimed the stone as his own. This incident of acquisition finally comes to an end when the precious stone was bought by Jagaḍū's agent for 3000 *taṅkas*. The name of the agent is not mentioned. Even the rival merchant, who claimed the stone as his own, is not mentioned by name. Finally, by the advice of a spiritual preceptor, the stone was split and the argument was brought to an end. Here the narration of *Jagaḍūcarita* goes thus that the deity Bhadra, disguised as a *yogin* advised the arguing people to split the stone. The *carita* asserts the price of acquiring the stone to be 300000 *dīnāras*, not 3000 *taṅkas* as the *saṃbandha* notes.

During the time of reign of Vīsaladeva in Aṇhilapāṭaka, Bhadreshwar's king Bhāḍala is mentioned in Śubhaśilagaṇi's *saṃbandha*. But Sarvāṇanda's *carita* does not have any such information about any local king of Bhadreshwar. The story of beeswax, the quarrel with his wife for this cause, the transformation of beeswax into the golden bricks<sup>64</sup> are missing in Sarvāṇanda's narration. Accordiing to the *saṃbandha*, the quantity of grains which Jagaḍū disbursed during the famine is much less than the description of Sarvāṇanda. The incident of Vīsaladeva's visit to Jagaḍū's almshouse in Pattana-Aṇhilvāda is also an extra anecdote not present in *Jagaḍūcarita*.

**2.7.2. Khantavijaya's Chronicle:** Another very brief but important version of the story based on the life Jagaḍū was compiled by a Jain Guru named Khantavijaya. Dr. Burgess has given some extracts from the compilation work by Khantavijaya in his Kāṭhiāvāḍ Report. The writer has mentioned the name of Jagaḍū as Jagadeva śāh. The Sanskrit form of Jagaḍū, is Jagaddeva; whereas Jagadeva is the Gujarati form of the Sanskrit term. Śāh or śā (the variant of sāh or sā) is the usual abbreviation for śāhu or śādhu which means 'a banker' or

'merchant'. The chronicle adds the following details regarding Jagadeva, "In Vikrama Saṃvat 1182 he received a grant of Bhadreśvar in absolute right for ever and caused the Vasāi temple to be repaired on an extensive scale, thereby removing all traces of antiquity. He died without heirs in Vikrama Saṃvat 1238. In his time a Jain Guru arrived named Deva Sūri, who warned him of an approaching famine at the beginning of the century which was to last for twelve years. Jagadeva śāh accordingly collected vast stores of grain, and when the predicted famine began in V.S. 1204, he had abundance which lasted till 1215, the last year of dearth. Even kings are said to have sent him for grain."

This chronology has placed Jagaḍū about a century earlier than the time suggested by the two works mentioned earlier. The date of famine mentioned in this chronicle of Khantavijaya is possibly wrongly stated. A source corroborating this statement has been noted by D.R. Bhandarkar. This is a *Paṭṭāvali*<sup>67</sup> which gives a brief note about a three year long famine which took place in VS. 1315 during the reign of Vīsaladeva. Jagaḍū sā is mentioned in this connection. So the dates given by Khantavijaya seems to be incorrect. Though Sarvāṇanda and Śubhaśilagaṇi do not display same views about the date of the famine (gradually VS 1313-1315 and VS 1315-1317; c), yet Khantavijaya's date does not seem acceptable.

The Jagadūcarita does not mention any work of restoration of a Jain temple in Bhadreshwar, whereas Khantavijaya records that Jagadeva rebuilt the great temple at Bhadreshwar, removing all traces of antiquity, which is recognized as the modern Vasai Temple by Dr. Burgess. Burgess has considered this information provided by Khantavijaya to be true. He has established this view after comparing the incised statement on the central image of the temple, which represents Ajinātha, the second *Tirthamkara*. 68 Sarvāṇanda has given minute details about the restoration activity of Jagadū in the carita, but no other supporting evidence of this event is available. Jagadū is said to have built a temple of the deity Bhadra in Bhadreshwar. He set a 'gilt pinnacle and a gilt flagstaff on a Jain temple of Vīranātha; he also built there, within the precincts of the same temple, three *devakulikā*s or chapels and installed 170 images of *Jinas*, an *aṣṭāpada* slab, as well as a gold plate near the image of Tīrthamkara Pārśvanātha'. 69 As there is a mention of an image Pārśvanātha in Jagadūcarita, it could be the modern Vasai temple, as there is a shrine of Pārśvanātha, the twenty third *Tīrthamkara*. Śubhaśilagani's account does not give a detailed description of temples built or reconstructed by Jagadu. The twentieth sambandha only remarks that Jagadū erected 108 temples. No doubt, the number is an exaggeration.

#### **Notes and References:**

<sup>1</sup> Text, canto IV, vv. 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> G. Bühler, *Indian Studies*, No. 1, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Text, canto VI, v. 65.

<sup>5</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Bhadreśvar: The Oldest Islamic Monuments in India, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> G. Bühler, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Text, canto VI, v. 67. 'द्वीन्दन्द्वग्निचन्द्रवर्षेषु' which decoded as 1312.

<sup>9</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>10</sup> इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकञ्चाष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये..

<sup>11</sup> Bühler has commented that his own authority and strength of communication also failed to collect any information about the poet and his religious guru. Even, Dr. Klatt who possesses complete lists of the Jain teachers and authors known till date, had not given any information; *Indian Studies*, No.1. p. 6, footnote.

<sup>12</sup> Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI. 332; 334.

<sup>13</sup> The Wonder That Was India, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Studies in Indian History and Culture, pp. 1-5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 283.

<sup>18</sup> *Indian Kavya Literature*, Vol. I, preface X.

<sup>19</sup> K. V. Sharma. *Comparative Indian Literature*, pp. 1022-1026.

<sup>20</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 286.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Debarchana Sarkar, "Harsacaritakāvyer aithihāka mūlya" in Janhavi, pp. 75-88.

<sup>22</sup> Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Harsha*, preface, I.

<sup>23</sup> Chandra Prabha, *Historical Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit*, p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> Bühler. Ed. Intro., p. 25, *IA*, Vol. V, p. 317.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 288.

<sup>27</sup> Manabendu Banerjee, *Historicity in Sanskrit Historical Kāvyas*, pp. 412-413.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470. (footnote for the source).

<sup>29</sup> George Bühler, *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Siegfried Lienhard, A History of Indian Literature. Vol. III, p. 202.

<sup>31</sup> Siegfried Lienhard, *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

32 Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 290.

<sup>34</sup> Loc. Cit.

<sup>35</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 413.

<sup>36</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 291.

<sup>37</sup> Siegfried Lienhard, *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>38</sup> Text, canto IV, vv. 3-41.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Text, canto VI, v. 65.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Sulagna Pradhan, "Three Merchants of Thirteenth Century in Gujarat". In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 78, 2017. pp. 275-281.

<sup>42</sup> Text, canto VII, v. 5.

<sup>43</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 412-418, 502.

<sup>44</sup> Kīrtikaumadi, IX. 70-71.

<sup>45</sup> George Bühler, Op. cit., P. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Krishnamacariyar, *HCSL*, p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> A.K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. I, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. Dey, *A history of Classical Sanskrit Literature: Classical Period*, Vol. I. p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Krishnamacariyar, *Op. cit.* 

<sup>50</sup> S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. Dev, *Op. cit.* p. 317.

<sup>51</sup> Kumārasambhava, ed. M.R. Kale, Intro. Delhi, 1967. p. II.

<sup>52</sup> The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. V, p. 211.

<sup>53</sup> Harşacrita, Ed. P.V. Kane, Ucchvāsa I, vv 3, 9; p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Debarchana Sarkar, *Self Instructional Materials* (DDE, Vidyasagar University) Module No. - VI, p. 5.

<sup>55</sup> History of Sanskrit Poetics, p. 132.

<sup>56</sup> S.k. Dey, Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, pp. 49-50, 67.

<sup>57</sup> सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यं महतां च महच्च यत् । अग्राम्यशब्दमर्थ्यं च सालङ्कारं सदाश्रयम् ॥ मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैश्च यत्। पञ्चभिः सन्धिर्भियुक्तं नातिव्याख्येयमृद्धिमत्॥ चतुर्वर्गाभिधानेऽपि भूयसार्थोपदेशकृत्। युक्तं लोकस्यभावेन रसैश्च सकलैः पृथक्॥ नायकं प्रागुपन्यस्य वंशविर्यश्रुतादिभिः। न तसैव वधं ब्रुयादन्योत्कर्षाभिधित्सया॥ यदि काव्यशरीरस्य न स व्यापितयेष्यते।

न चाभ्युदयभाक्तस्य मुधादौ ग्रहणंस्त्ववे॥ Kāvyālankāra, I. 18-22.

<sup>58</sup> सर्गबन्धो महाकाव्यमुच्यते तस्य लक्षणम्। आञ्चीर्नमस्क्रिया वस्तुनिर्देशो वापि तन्मुखम् ॥ इतिहासकथोद्धुतमितरद्वा सदाश्रयम्। चतुर्वेर्गफलोपेतं चतुरोदातनायकम्॥ नगरार्णवशैलर्तुचन्द्रार्कोदयवर्णनै:। मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैरपि॥ अलंकृतमसंक्षिप्तं रसभाविनरन्तरम्। सर्गेरनितिवस्तीर्णे: श्रव्यवृत्तै: सुसन्धिभि:॥ सर्वत्र भिन्नवृत्तान्तैरुपेतं लोकरञ्जकम्। काव्यं कल्षान्तरस्थायि जायते सदलंकृति॥

- <sup>59</sup> From the translation by S.K. Belvalkar, *Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin: Sanskrit Text and English Translation*, pp. 2-3.
- <sup>60</sup> L. Sulochana Devi, *Historical Survey of Sanskrit Mahākāvyas*, p. 7.
- 61 नातिस्वल्पा नातिदीर्घा: सर्गा अष्टाधिका इह। VI. 320.
- <sup>62</sup> अविकत्थनः क्षमावानतिगम्भीरो महासत्त्वः। स्थेयान् निगुढमानो धीरोदात्तो दृढव्रतः कथितः॥ *Sāhityadarpaṇa* III. 38.
- 63 https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/shubhashilagani. (Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum).
- <sup>64</sup> Summary of the text of Śubhaśīlagaṇi in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
- <sup>65</sup> Reports of Archeological Survey of West India, Vol. II, P. 202 ff. and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.

V, p. 213 ff. in the footnote of *Indian Studies*, No. 1. p. 25.

- <sup>66</sup> According to G. Bühler, *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- <sup>67</sup> Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. During the Year 1883-84, p. 15 and 319.
- <sup>68</sup> For the detail discussion see G. Bühler, *Op. cit.* p. 27.
- <sup>69</sup> Text, canto VI, vv. 41-48.

#### **CHAPTER: 3**

#### EDITED AND ANNOTATED TEXT

## 3.1. An Overview of the Text Jagaḍūcarita by Sarvāṇanda Sūri

The present chapter contains the edited and annotated text of Sarvāṇanda Sūri's Jagaḍūcarita, which has been prepared after collating two available printed texts of the book.

Of the two, the first one is a complete text published by Babu Gopichandra Vakil, Secretary of Sri Ātmānanda Jain Sabhā, Ambala, Punjab in the year 1925. It is printed from the edition by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay (Now Mumbai). This text was edited by Śrī Umamga Vijaya Gaṇī and published in Sri Ātmaballabha Grantha Series, No. 6.3 The editor Śrī Umamga Vijaya Gaṇī has paid tribute to his teacher Śrīmad Vijaya Vallabha Sūri, which is found on the title page of the text. The editor has titled the text as Śrīmatsarvvāṇandasūriviracitam Śrīmajjagadūcaritamahākāvyam. The details of manuscripts used by him for editing the text are not available. Nothing is mentioned there regarding this matter. But it is noted there that five hundred copies were printed in the year 1925 CE, and three more eras, viz. Vīrasamvat 2451, Āramasamvat 29, Vikramasamvat 1982 are mentioned along with it. The copy which is used for collation in this chapter, was presented to William Norman Brown by a saint named Charaṇa Vijaya from Pattan on 29th October, 1928.

Another collating material is a printed article edited by G. Bühler which was published bearing the title "The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarat" in *Indian Studies*, No.1 in the series *Sitzungsberichte der philosophical-Hisrotischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien: F. Tempsky) in the year 1892. Bühler's essay was based on the manuscript which was collected by him between the years 1863 and 1888 during his visit to the Indian subcontinent and later he presented the manuscript to India Office Library. In an article written by him in *Zeitschrift* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As mentioned in the title page of the material found. The person responsible for the printing this material is mentioned here as Ramchandra Yesu Shedge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This editor was a devoted Jain with the title of *paṁnyāsa*. He was a pupil of Śrīmad Viveka Vijaya who was the main disciple *(mukhyaśiṣyaratna taponidhi)* of the Jain Spiritual teacher Śrīmad Vijaya Vallabha Sūri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The financial help was made from the  $V\bar{a}stavya\ Jain\'sr\bar{\iota}sangha$  situated in the Takhata village, Jodhpur, Rajashthan to publish and print this text.

<sup>4</sup> न्यायाम्भोनिधि श्रीमद्विजयानन्दस्रीश्वरपट्टधर श्रीमद्विजयवल्लभस्रिग्रुरुपादपद्येभ्यो नम:।

der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. XLII, p. 551, he has listed this manuscript (Sanskrit MSS. Bühler, No. 291, fols.10) under the category of 'Śvetāmbara legends and history'. Bühler has mentioned in his article that this manuscript was kindly lent to him in 1876 CE by Rāo Sāheb Dalpatrām P. Khakhar, then Educational Inspector of Kutch, who later sanctioned its presentation to the Indian office.<sup>5</sup> He has not also forgotten to mention that the manuscript, on which his essay in the *Indian Studies*, Vol. I is based, had been a modern, but very correct copy, made for Mr. Khakhar from an old manuscript, belonging to a Jain *yati* in Bhuj. In this article of Bühler, there is no complete translation of the text and an outline of the content of the text only is drawn by him. He has extracted the relevant portions from the text whichever he considered historically important.

As stated in the beginning, the present chapter consists of the edited text of Jagadūcarita of Sarvāṇanada Sūri prepared collating these two printed materials. The complete text of Jagadūcarita, published by Nirṇaya Sāgara press (1925 CE) is labelled here as MS. A. The extract of the text used by Bühler is labelled as MS. B. Seven cantos and 388 verses of the text are transliterated in Devanāgarī script with comments in the foot note. The verses where only one source text is available, few probable emended readings are suggested for the grammatical mistakes or other irregular usages. A summary of every canto is given after the edited text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> George Bühler, *Indian Studies*, No. 1, p. 1.

## 3.2. Text of Jagaḍūcarita by Sarvāṇanda Sūri

प्रथमः सर्गः

यन्मूर्ध्नि पन्नगफणामणिदीपजाग्र ज्ज्योस्तमोविजयि विघ्नपतङ्गभेदि। 6 आविष्करोति कृतिनामपवर्गमार्गं स श्रेयसे भवतु पार्श्वजिनाधिनाथ:॥ 1

अज्ञानपङ्कनिकरव्यतिषङ्गनाशं शश्वत्प्रसादसिललेन<sup>7</sup> समुज्ज्वलेन। बालस्य मे विरचयातिशयाभिरामे मात: सरस्वित जगज्जनवन्द्यपादे॥ 2

अर्हन्मतार्णवविलासविधाननिष्णं<sup>8</sup> राकाभिधेयशुचिपक्षविराजमानम्। दुष्कर्मतापदलनं किल सूरिचन्द्रं वन्दामहे परमदेवमुदारभक्त्या॥ 3

तीव्रापकारकरणैकहृदोऽपि सर्वे ते दुर्ज्जना जगित जाग्रतु नित्यमेव। येषां नितान्तभयतः क्रचनापि काव्य– मार्गात्स्खलन्ति कवयो न लसिद्ववेकाः॥ 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> पतंगभेदि in MS. B.

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  MS. B has noted that the word was सिललेण समुज्वलेन in its source MS.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  निष्ठं in MS. A. the reading of MS B is taken here in the meaning of 'skilled'.

सन्तः पवित्रचिरता दुरिताभिमुक्ता राजन्ति ते विधुविभाजयिसद्गुणौघाः। स्वार्थं विमुच्य सुतरां हि परार्थसार्थ– संसाधनाय दधते निजमानसं ये॥ 5

स्वर्गापवर्गपदवीसमवाप्तिमेष कल्पद्रुमो न ददते ध्रुवमर्थितोऽपि। धर्मः स्वभावसरलस्तु विवेकभाजां तां लीलयैव ददतेऽपि गतस्पृहाणाम्॥ 6

विश्वत्रयीहितकृता प्रकटीकृतो यः श्रीनाभिभूपतनयेन जिनश्वरेण। दानादिभेदकलिताय नमोऽस्तु तस्मै धर्माय भूतिधृतिकीर्तिमतिप्रदाय॥ 7

लक्ष्मीस्तरङ्गतरला पवनप्रकम्प-श्रीवृक्षपत्रनिभमायुरिहाङ्गभाजाम्। तारुण्यमेव नवशारदसान्ध्यराग-प्रायं स्थिरा सुकृतजा किल कीर्तिरेषा॥ 8

गङ्गातरङ्गविमलेन<sup>9</sup> यशोभरेण दानोद्धवेन किल कल्पशतस्थिरेण। एकस्त्रिलोकमखिलं धवलीचकार धिक्कारकृत्कलिरिपोर्जगडूविवेकी॥ 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> तरंग in MS. B.

चेतः प्रसीदिततरां भवतः पिवत्रौ कर्णौ जवादिप च गच्छित सर्वदुःखम्। हर्षः<sup>10</sup> पिरस्फुरित साधुजनस्य सम्य-गाकर्णितेऽत्र<sup>11</sup> जगडूचिरते प्रशस्ते॥ 10

सारस्वतस्मरणजाग्रदुदग्रबुद्धि प्राग्भारमासुरकवीश्वरवर्ण्यमानम्। गीर्वाणवारणरदद्युतिसोदरं न कः संस्तवीति जगडूगुणचक्रवालम्॥ 11

वाचस्पतेरिप धियामवकाशता न स्तोतुं गुणाञ्जगति यस्य नितान्तपूतान्। कर्तुं हि तस्य जगडूसुधियश्चरित्र— मुत्कण्ठितोऽहमधुना<sup>12</sup> स्मितभूर्न<sup>13</sup> कस्य॥ 12

विद्यामहोदधिशशाङ्ककलोपमाने<sup>14</sup> मातः सरस्वित मुखे वस मे निकामम्। नो चेत्प्रसिद्धजगडूचिरतप्रथायां मन्दादरस्य तु सतो मम ते त्रपैव॥ 13

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  MS. B has noted that the word was हर्षा in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> '5' is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 'S'is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> स्मितभूर्त्र in MS. A, which is considered as incorrect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> राशाङ्ककलासमाने in MS. A, which is considered as incorrect.

संस्मृत्य वाचममलां स्वगुरोः क्रमाब्ज-द्वन्द्वं<sup>15</sup> च पुण्ययशसः प्रथयामि हन्त। तस्योत्तमं चरितमद्भुतभावभास-<sup>16</sup> स्तच्छूयतां सुकृतिभिः कलितप्रमोदैः<sup>17</sup> ॥ 14

कल्याणवानखिलभूमिभृतां सुमान्यो मित्रद्विजाधिपतिधिष्यततोरुदीप्तिः<sup>18</sup>। श्रीमालवंश इह मेरुरिवोन्नतोऽस्ति<sup>19</sup> संसेवित: प्रतिदिनं विवुधैरनेकै:॥ 15

मर्यादया परियुतो जगतीधराणा-माधारतामुगतः सुतरां गभीरः। पुंरत्नजातिकलितःसुकृतस्रवन्ती संयोगभाग्विजयते जलराशिवद्यः॥ 16

तस्मिन्बभूव सकलव्यवहारिमुख्यो भास्विद्ववेकविनयादिगुणैकधामा। 20 वीयट्टुरुत्तमजिनेश्वरधर्ममर्म<sup>21</sup> विज्ञाननिर्मलमितः कमलाभिरामः॥ 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> हंहं in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> भावभासि in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was प्रमोदि in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> मित्रद्विजाधिपतिधिष्यकृतोरुदीप्ति:in MS. B.

<sup>19 &#</sup>x27;5' is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> MS. B reads as गुणैकधाम

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  वीयहु may be a mistake for वीयहु, as the name is spelt in the colophon of Sarga I.

अश्रान्तभूवलयभूतिरोरुभारो-द्धारोद्धवश्रमजदुःखमपाकरोति। पातालभर्तुरुरगीभिरतिप्रमोदा-द्यद्दानकीर्तिरमला परिगीयमाणा<sup>22</sup>॥ 18

यत्कीर्तिपुरविमले भुवनत्रयेऽस्मिन् मन्ये हिमाचलसुता मुदमाससाद। दिग्वाससं श्रितकपालममुं पतिं मे तात: परं यदवलोकयितुं परोऽलम्॥ 19

श्रीसङ्घभक्तिजिनमन्दिरकूपवाची सन्नप्रपाप्रमुखपुण्यचयं विधाय। प्रौढप्रतापमवनौ परिवर्त्तमानं कामं कलेरपि च यो दलयाम्बभूव॥ 20

सद्यक्रनन्दकतया च महःश्रिया च शश्व<sup>23</sup>त्परग्रहसुनिग्रहकारणेन। मित्रोपमामयमवाप दुरापकीर्ति– श्चित्रं पुनर्यदवनेर्हरति स्म तापम्॥ 21

तस्याङ्गजोऽजनि<sup>24</sup> जनप्रमदैकवार्ता धाम श्रियां च वरणाग इति प्रसिद्धः। यत्कीर्तिनव्यशुचिहारयुता निरीक्ष्य

काष्टा: प्रिया हि चिकता हृदि वासवाद्या:॥ 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> परिगीयमाना in MS. A. but this is not a correct reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> शाश्वत्प..in MS. A. is this reading is taken, the metre does not maintained.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> '5' is absent in MS. B.

भोगावती परिजिता त्वमरावती वा नर्थ्यालका<sup>25</sup> किल यया शनशो दधत्या। भोगीश्वरान्विबुधपान्धनदान्स कन्थां तामध्युवास नगरीमथ मन्मथाम:॥ 23

गौरीपतेरिप शिरः सततं श्रितो यः शीतद्युतिर्न समवाय कलां द्वितीयाम् । विश्वत्रयीधवलनोद्यतयास्य कीर्त्या पृष्टिं गतस्तु स विभर्ति कलाकलापम्॥ 24

शत्रुञ्जयाभिधगिरावध<sup>26</sup> रैवताद्रौ सङ्घाधिपत्यमधिगत्य<sup>27</sup> चकार यात्राम्। यः कल्पवृक्ष इव दीनजनस्य दैन्य– मुद्दामदानकलया दलयाम्बभूव॥ 25

तन्नन्दनः सकलसज्जनवर्ण्यमानः श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसेवनकक्षबद्धः। वासाभिधः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टबुद्धिः सत्पात्रपाणिविमलीकृतभूरिवितः॥ 26

नीचाननाश्रयभवात्मतमोऽपहन्तुं वाग्देवता भगवतीव जगाम सापि। सत्कीर्तिपूरपरितदिग्मुखस्य यस्याननं रुचिरस्त्यगिरा पवित्रम्॥ 27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> नर्ध्यालका in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> रात्रुंजय..in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> संघाधिप.. in MS. B.

आकर्ण्य पन्नगबधूजनगीयमान— मुद्दामदानविधिजातयशःसमूहम्। यस्यान्वहं विलरसौ च रसातलस्थः सेहे दृढं हि निज बन्धनतापदुःखम्॥ 28

श्रीवीसलस्तु नयवानथ वीरदेवो नेमिश्च निर्मलयशःकलितश्च चाण्डूः। श्रीवत्स इत्यनघवैभवभूषितस्य पञ्चाङ्गजाः शुशुभिरे किल यस्य धन्याः॥ 29

कल्पद्धमैरिव सुमेरुगिरिः प्रशस्तैः साधुर्व्रतैरिव मुखैरिव वामदेवः। अङ्गैर्महीदयितमत्र इव व्यराज-द्यः पञ्चभिः<sup>28</sup> कृतिभिरङ्गभवैरमीभिः॥ 30

वर्ण्यः कथं न स कृती किल वीसलाख्यो यस्य प्रशस्यगुवर्णनकारणेन। धर्ता भुवोऽपि भुजगाधिपतिः स्वकीयाः कामं शुचीरयममंस्त समस्तजिह्वाः॥<sup>29</sup> 31

किलयुगरिपुभीतो न कचित्स्थातुमीशो विविधगुणनिवासं यं समाश्रित्य मन्ये। अभजत पुनरेष प्रौढिमानं तु धर्म्मो न भवति गुरुसङ्गाद्दीप्तियोगो हि कस्य॥30 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> सहायाः साधनोपायाः, विभागो देशकालयोः । विनिपातप्रतीकारः सिद्धिः पञ्चाङ्गमिष्यते ॥

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Metre of verses 1-31: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Metre of verse 32: Mālinī

जगत्त्रयीपावनयद्गुणावली गानैकतानः सुतरां विरञ्चनः। न तं पुनश्चिन्तयितेति तर्क्कये सन्ध्याद्वयोपासनबन्धुरं विधिम्॥<sup>31</sup> 33

लक्ष्यसुलक्षणसोलकसोही— नाममनोहरपुत्रचतुष्कः। वीसल एष सुधर्मविशेषं कं न चकार निरस्तकुबोधः॥<sup>32</sup> 34

अथ प्रपूर्यायुरसौ स्वकीयं सद्धर्मकर्मप्रधनैकचित्तः। अनन्यमाहात्म्यभराभिरामो जज्ञे सुरो भासुरकायकान्तिः॥<sup>33</sup> 35

विघ्ना दूरत एव यान्ति निखिलाः सम्पत्तयः सन्ततं द्योतन्ते परितः स्फुरन्ति विविधाः कल्याणमालास्तथा। सत्कीर्तिः प्रसरीसरीति भवति श्रेयस्करी सन्तति– स्तेषां ये हृदि चिन्तयित कृतिनस्तं भूमिपीठे सुरम्॥<sup>34</sup> 36

लक्षः शङ्खवलक्ष्यकीर्तिनिकरव्याप्तक्षमामण्डलः शाश्वल्लक्षणमुख्यशास्त्रविदुरो लक्षप्रदातार्थिनाम्। दूरीभूतकुलक्षणः किल जिनाधीशक्रमाब्जद्वयी सेवाजाग्रदुदग्रपुण्यनिवहः प्रीतिं न कस्यातनोत्॥35 37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Metre of verse 33: Vamśasthavilam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Metre of verse 34: Dodhaka; MS. B has noted that the word was विशेषकं in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Metre of verse 35: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Metre of verse 36: Śārdulavīkrīditam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Metre of verse 37: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam

सुलक्षणस्यापि हहा निरर्गला गुणाः सतां जहुरहो मनोधनम्। वृथा प्रतीतिर्जगतीति कारण– स्वभाव भाक् कार्यमवेक्ष्यतेऽखिलम्॥<sup>36</sup> 38

नो शम्भुर्वृषभं हिमाचलसुता कण्ठीरवं नो निजं न ब्रह्मा किल राजहंसमिथुनं नैरावरणं वासवः। दूरे मुञ्चति जातुचित्पुनरिप क्लेशातप्त्याभृशं श्रीसोलस्य यशःश्रिया धवलितेऽप्यस्मिंस्त्रिलोके ऽखिले॥<sup>37</sup> 39

चारुरूपकलिता दियतासीत् श्री: पवित्रविरठा किल तस्य। प्रेमवैभववतीव मुरारे रुक्मिणी गिरिसुतेव हरस्य॥<sup>38</sup> 40

सोही नामा वर्ण्यते कैर्न धीरः सोऽयं गङ्गातोयशुभ्रैर्गुणौद्यैः। चित्रं चित्रं सर्वदा सञ्जनानां रागाधिक्यं हृत्सु येन व्यधायि॥<sup>39</sup> 41

किं चिन्तामणिना किमुद्युतरूणा किं कामगव्या तया किं वा पूर्णघटेन किं जलिधना किं रोहणक्ष्माभृता। किं वा मेचकिचत्रकेण यदसौ सोलस्तु सोमाननो दृष्टोऽस्माभिरुदारभाग्यकलया दारिद्यसर्वङ्कषः॥40 42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Metre of verse 38: Vamsasthavilam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Metre of verse 39: Śārdulavīkrīditam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Metre of verse 40: Svāgatā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Metre of verse 41: Śālinī

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Metre of verse 42: Śārdulavīkrīditam

सकलयाचकचातकपोषकृ – न्निजसुहृत्तरुवर्धनबन्धुरः। स्वजलजवासकदैन्यविधायकः स शुशुभे भुवि दानघनाघनः॥<sup>41</sup> 43

सप्ततत्त्वविदुरः शुचिसप्त-क्षेत्रभावनिहितोत्तवितः। सप्तदुर्गतिभयेन विमुक्तः सप्तसप्तिरभवत्स महोभिः॥<sup>42</sup> 44

कर्पूरमन्दारगिरीशगौरे— गुंणैरनेकै: कलितो नयाद्यै:। महेभ्यमुख्य: किल सोलनामा प्रमोदयामास सतां मनांसि॥<sup>43</sup> 45

> इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचिरते महाकाव्ये वीयट्टप्रभृतिपूर्वपुरुषव्यावर्णनो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः॥

# द्वितीयः सर्गः

महापुरन्ध्रीकरदर्पनाभं महेभ्यलोकै: परिभासमानम्। अस्तीह भद्रेश्वरनामधेयं पुरं वरं कच्छकृतैकशोभम्॥<sup>44</sup> 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Metre of verse 43: Drutavilambitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Metre of verse 44: Svāgatā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Metre of verse 45: Upajāti

<sup>44</sup> पुरंधी in MS. B.

यत्र श्रियं त्रातुमिवाहिराजः पातालमध्यात्परिखामिषेण। आविर्बभूवोत्तमदुर्गदम्भा त्रिरन्तरं कुण्डलितोरुकायः॥ 2

कृतैकराज्यश्रवणेन शल्यं कलेरभूद्यत्र हृदि प्रकामम्। नक्तंदिवं दैवतमन्दिरेषु घण्टारवादर्तिमुष्य चासीत्॥ 3

निसर्गदौर्गत्यनिपीडिताय जनाय दातुं करुणां दधानः। तटे ततानेव तरङ्गहस्तै रत्नानि रत्नाकर इव <sup>45</sup>यत्र।। 4

सुवर्णराशिं किल रत्नराशि– मट्टस्थितं वीक्ष्य वणिग्जनस्य। यत्नागतां पान्थजनः सुमेरो– रब्धेरमंस्तापि च सारलक्षीम्॥ 5

महेश्वरस्यैकजयाय काम-श्वकार रूपाणि सहस्रशोऽिप। यत्राद्धुताकारिवशेषभाजां दम्भेन रङ्गत्तरूणव्रजानाम्॥ 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> एव in MS. A. But इव seems as the correct reading.

तथा विधाता विदधेऽखिलानां रूपश्रियं यत्र नितम्बिनीनाम्। यथा सुराणां स्ववधूजनेऽपि नदीक्षणात्कार्यमवाप रागः॥ 7

निशासु सौधोपरिसंस्थितानां मृगीदृशां यत्र च चारुगानम्। आकर्णयन्तं स्वमृगं सुधांशु– र्याताय कृच्छात्त्वरयाम्बभूव॥ 8

यत्रेन्दुकान्तालय एव यूनां शीतांशुकान्त्या गलितामृताम्बुः। नक्तं निदाघेऽपि रतश्रमोत्थं तापव्यपोहं रचयाश्चकार॥ 9

भोगावती दुष्टभुजङ्गनिन्द्या मरावती दुश्चवनान्विता च। विश्वैकसारा च कुबेरनाथा नान्योपमां यत्र विभावयामि॥ 10

यत्राङ्गनानां वदनेन्दुविम्ब-लावण्यपीयूषमतीव पीत्वा। महेश्वरेणापि च दग्धमूर्तिः पुनर्नवत्वं श्रयति स्म कामः॥ 11 पारावतेभ्यः <sup>46</sup> शुचिसौधदेश मधिष्ठितेभ्यः किल यत्र रात्रौ। चारुणि कामं रतकूजितानि स्वयं नवोढाः कलयाम्बुभूवुः॥ 12

माणिक्यहर्म्याविलचङ्गशृङ्ग-परिस्फुरत्काञ्चनकुम्भदम्भात्। निशास्वनेकार्कविलोकनेन प्रकाममप्रीयत चक्रवाकः॥ 13

लक्ष्मीगिरौ यत्र च निर्विरोधं क्रीडापरे वीक्ष्य मिथः सदैव। प्रीतिः परा काप्युदभुद् द्हृदन्तर– म्भोनिधेश्चाम्बुरुहासनस्य॥ 14

क्रीडाशुकान्यत्र महेभ्यसद्म कपोतपालीं भजतोऽतिनीलान्। नीलोपलज्योतिरदृश्यकाया– नोतुस्तदीयध्वनिना ह्यबोधि॥ 15

यत्रोष्मिनःश्वासममुञ्चदीशा-न्तिकेऽपि काचिद् गृहरत्निभतौ। सङ्कान्तमूर्तिस्तु निजां सपत्नी-माशङ्कमाना सहसाभ्युपेताम्॥<sup>47</sup> 16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> पारापतेभ्यः in MS. A. though it seems not to be a correct reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Metre of verses 1-16: Upajāti

नानारत्नमयालयद्युतिभरे जम्भारिचापभ्रमं विभ्राणेऽगरुधूपधूमनिवहे व्योरुयभ्ररूपे सति। अश्रान्तं मधुरे मृदङ्गनिनदेऽप्युज्जृम्भमाणे पुन— र्नृत्यं यत्र वितेनिरेऽपि शिखिनः क्रीडावनस्थायिनः॥<sup>48</sup> 17

भर्तुः परीरम्भसुखामृतेन हृत्सिञ्च दुःसाध्यवियोगतापम्। विमुञ्च मानं च कृतार्थय त्व– मिदं दुरापं नवयौवनं च ॥ 18

क्रीडाशुकी काचन धन्यगेहे विचारयुक्ता सुतरां सखीव। अवुबुधद्यत्र किलेति दीर्घ– मानान्वितां काञ्चनचारुनेत्राम्॥<sup>49</sup> 19

सौधान्तरागत्य मरुद्रवाक्ष-मार्गेण पुष्पावलिगन्धरम्य:। पस्पर्ज्ञ वक्षोजयुगं बधूनां यत्राप्यहो पुण्यमये दिवापि॥ 20

मृगीदृशां हत्सरिस स्मरोऽयं रितं श्रयन्यत्र चकार केलिम्। तत्प्रौढवक्षोरुहकैतवात्त– त्कुम्भद्वयेनातिमनोहरश्री:॥ 21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Metre of verse 17: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Verses 18 & 19 are युग्मम्।

प्राणप्रियेणापि हते करेण रागेण यत्र स्वनितम्बवस्त्रे। सत्पद्मरागालयभावृताङ्गी सरोजनेत्रा ह्रियमाप नैव॥ 22

वापीषु कूपेषु सरस्तु यत्र पीयूषपुरं निदधे पयोधि:। सूर्योऽपि सम्भाव्य सुरव्रजेभ्य: स्वमन्थनं भीत इव प्रकामम्॥50 23

देवभक्तिगुरुभक्तिबन्धुरा बन्धुवर्गपरितोपकारकाः। दम्भलोभमदमत्सरोज्झिता यत्र पुण्यमतयो जना बभुः॥<sup>51</sup> 24

घुर्घुरा जयित यत्र देवता घोरविघ्ननिकरैकवारिणी।<sup>52</sup> सर्वदातिशयराजिधारिणी विश्ववाञ्छितविभूतिकारिणी॥<sup>53</sup> 25

उन्नतित्वकलितः किल विभ्रत् स्थैर्यमद्रिरिव यत्र जनौघः। राजते स्म च तदद्भुतमेव यन्नितान्तमयमुज्झितकूटः॥54 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 18-23: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Metre of verses 24: Rathodhattā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was वारणी in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Metre of verse 25: Rathodhattā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Metre of verse 26: Svāgatā

सुपात्रदत्तोज्ज्वलवित्तराशि-

र्विमुक्तदोषः कृतधर्मपोषः।

जनः समग्रोऽपि च यत्र रेजे

सौजन्यधन्यः कलितोरुकीर्तिः॥55 27

कन्यां<sup>56</sup> विमुच्य नगरीमधिकर्छिमाप्तुं भद्रेश्वरे निवसति स्म पुरे स तत्र। श्रीसोल एष सुकृती स्वकुलेन युक्तः साधोर्मतिः स्फुरित भूरितरोदनाय॥<sup>57</sup> 28

इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचिरते महाकाव्ये भद्रेश्वरपुरव्यावर्णनो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः॥

# तृतीयः सर्गः

स्वकुलं भूषयामास विमलैः शीतलैर्गुणैः। तमोपहैरयं व्योम $^{58}$  करैरिव सुधाकरः॥ 1

तत्प्रिया श्रीरसूनाथ जगित प्रथितौजसः। जगडूराजपद्माख्यांस्तनयान्विनयान्वितान्॥ 2

त्रिभिर्थभासे भास्वद्धिस्तनयैस्तत्कुलं शुचि। शिखिभिर्विप्रवेश्मेव गीतं ग्रामैरिवोत्तमै:॥ 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Metre of verse 27: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was कन्यों in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Metre of verse 28: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was व्योमं in main MS.

जगडूः कलयामास भाग्यसौभाग्यबन्धुरः। जगज्जनमनस्तोषपोषकं गुणसञ्चयम्॥ 4

स्वर्गाङ्गनापरीरम्भारम्भतोषिणि वप्तरि। जगडूरकरोत्प्रौढकुलभारोद्धृतौ मन:<sup>59</sup>॥ 5

भ्रातृभ्यां भूषितस्ताभ्यां प्रीतिदाभ्यां धरातले। पुनर्वसुभ्यां युक्तस्य स श्रियं श्रितवान्विधोः॥ 6

रम्भातिलोत्तमामेनोर्वशीरूपविजित्वरीम् $^{60}$ । यशोमतीं $^{61}$  प्रियां प्राप जगडूः शीलशालिनीम्॥ 7

राजल्लदेव्या प्रियया बिभ्रत्या प्रेमसम्पदम्<sup>62</sup>। गुणान् कृतार्थयामास राजाख्यः स्वस्य धीनिधिः॥ 8

बभूव पद्मा पद्मस्य दियता हितकारिणी। शचीव मरुतां<sup>63</sup> पत्युः कौमुदीवामृतद्युतेः॥ 9

अतिदानव्यसिननः कृतिनः पुण्यशालिनः। न चिन्ता जगडूकस्य धने तुच्छेप्यजायत॥ 10

अथान्येद्युः परिसरे पुरस्यास्य स भाग्यभूः। पञ्जपालकमद्राक्षीद्यारयन्तमजा निजाः॥ 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was ड्रुतौ मना in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>MS. B reads as रम्भातिलोत्तमामेना...after that two letters are lacuna which is suggested to be filled up by प्सरी / चारु

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was यशोमती in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was प्रेमसपदां in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> MS. B reads as सत्वनां, which is recontructed from the word was सतापत्यु:, which was in main MS.

स्वयूथमध्यगामेकामजामपि मनोहराम्। ग्रीवाबद्धमणि दृष्ट्वा स हृदीति<sup>64</sup> व्यचिन्तयत्॥ 12

सर्वश्रीसाधकः कामं<sup>65</sup> सद्भाग्यावाप्यदर्शनः। मणिर्यद्येष मे गेहे तदा पूर्णां<sup>66</sup> मनोरथाः॥ 13

चिन्तयित्वेति जगडूः पशुपालस्य किञ्चन<sup>67</sup>। धनं दत्त्वा गृहीत्वाजां तामगान्निजमन्दिरम्॥ 14

अजाकण्ठात्तमाकृष्य मणिं लक्ष्मीविधायिनम्। स्वगृहे पूजयामास प्रच्छन्नं च विचक्षणः॥ 15

मणेर्मिहम्रा तस्याथ जगडूसदनान्तरे। प्रावर्द्धताखिला<sup>68</sup> लक्ष्मीर्भावनेव सदाशये<sup>69</sup>॥ 16

चिन्तामणिरिवात्यर्थमर्थिनामभिलाषताम् । जगडूः पूरयामास दानेनाथ गरीयसा<sup>70</sup>॥ 17

क्षीरार्णवतरङ्गा<sup>71</sup>भैर्जगडूकीर्तिसञ्चयै:<sup>72</sup>। सद्दानकर्मजनितैस्त्रिलोकी धवलीकृता॥ 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was सहद्यदीति in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was कासं in main MS.

<sup>66</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was पूर्णाम in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> किंचन in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> प्रावर्धनाखिला in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> MS. B. reads as सदशये

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was गरीयसां in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> तरंगा in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> संचयै: in MS. B.

स्वप्रियायां यशोमत्यां पुत्रीं प्रीतिमतीमथ। धृताविव<sup>73</sup> मुदं श्रीमाञ्जगडूरुदपादयत्॥ 19

वर्द्धमाना<sup>74</sup> कुलाम्भोजराजहंसी क्रमेण सा। मनो जहार नो कस्य गत्या च कलया गिरा॥ 20

स तां कन्यामथान्येद्युर्यशोदेवाय दत्तवान्। तत्पाणिग्रहणादूर्द्धमयमाप मृतिं<sup>75</sup> क्षणात्॥ 21

अज्ञुभं कुर्वतः स्थाने ज्ञुभस्य प्रतिकूलतः। दैवस्यास्य न केनापि महिमात्र तिरस्कृतः॥ 22

ततः स्वज्ञातिवृद्धानामनुमत्यैष धीमताम्<sup>76</sup>। वराय दातुमन्यस्मै तनयामुपचक्रमे॥ 23

वृद्धे कुलाङ्गने दक्षे केचिद्वैधव्यदूषिते। श्रृङ्गारं स्फारमाश्रित्य तमूचतुरिति स्फुटम्॥ 24

पुत्र्या वैधव्ययुक्ताया अपि चेद्वरमीक्षसे। तदावयोरपि श्रीमन्विधेहि वरवीक्षणम्॥ 25

तयोरिति वचः श्रुत्वा प्रतिबोधोचितं शुचि<sup>77</sup>। अवाप हृदये लज्जां श्रीमालान्वयमण्डनः॥ 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> MS. B reads the word as धृतािव

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> वर्धमाना in MS. B.

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$  MS. B has noted that the word was मृति in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was .. नांमनुमत्येष धीमेतां in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was धीचित शुचि in main MS.

मानयित्वा तयोर्वाचं यशोमत्याः पतिस्ततः। स पुत्रीश्रेयसेऽकार्षीत्कूपवाप्यादिकं<sup>78</sup> विधिम्॥ 27

पुत्रीवैधव्यदुःखं स त्यक्त्वा हृदि गभीरधीः। नित्यं विरचयामास धर्मकर्माण्यनेकज्ञः॥ 28

दारिद्यं दलयन्नुचैः सर्वेषामिप चार्थिनाम्। स कालं गमयामास कियन्तं पुत्रवर्जितः॥ 29

नानाविधानि पुण्यानि कुर्वाणस्यापि नामवत्। भ्रात्रृद्वयान्वितस्यापि तस्य सत्पुत्रसन्ततिः <sup>79</sup>॥ 30

निशावसानसमये श्रीसोलस्यादिमाङ्गजः<sup>80</sup>। सन्तत्यानघया हीनश्चिन्तयामासिवानिति ॥ 31

स्तम्भनेव गृहं नागाधीरेणेव महीतलम्। नङ्गरेणेव वोहित्यं कुलं पुत्रेण धार्यते<sup>81</sup> ॥ 32

धूलिधूसरपुत्राङ्गपरिष्वङ्गसुखामृतै:। धन्यानां हृदये ताप: सकलोऽपि<sup>82</sup> विलीयते॥ 33

<sup>78</sup> MS. B reads the phrase as पुत्रीशश्रेयसेकार्षीत्कूपवाप्यादिकं

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> MS. B reads the word as संतित

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was सेमस्यादि.. in main MS.

 $<sup>^{81}</sup>$  MS. B has noted that the words were गृहे; नगरेण in the sloka in main MS.

<sup>82 5</sup> is absent in MS. B.

हहा<sup>83</sup> ममापि मद्भ्रात्रोरनयोर्नयञ्चालिनोः। पवित्रा सन्ततिर्नास्ति यया गोत्रं स्थिरीभवेत्॥ 34

इति चिन्ताभरव्यग्रं प्रत्यग्रप्रेमशालिनी। प्रियं यशोमती प्रोचे तमतीव विचक्षणाम्<sup>84</sup> ॥ 35

किमाधिरस्ति वा व्याधिस्तय<sup>85</sup> प्राणेश सम्प्रति<sup>86</sup>। येनेदं त्वन्मुखं यान्ति<sup>87</sup> दिवसेन्दुसमानताम्॥ 36

अस्ति मत्तव गोप्यं किं रहस्यं जीवितेश्वर। येनेदमपि नो दुःखं मदग्रे कथ्यते त्वया॥ 37

अथ प्राणप्रियामूचे सोऽसामान्यगुणान्विताम्<sup>88</sup>। भद्रे सत्पुत्रहीनत्वं परं मे दुःखकारणम्॥ 38

ममापि किल मद्भ्रात्रोरस्ति नो पुत्रसन्तति:। पतापतं कुलं वीक्ष्य तेन दूये निरन्तरम्॥ 39

श्रुत्वेति वचनं पत्युः पुनः प्रोचे यशोमती। देवताराधनं कार्यं त्वया सन्ततिसम्पदे<sup>89</sup> ॥ 40

साधूदितं त्वया सुभ्रु! जजल्पेत्यथ सोऽनघः<sup>90</sup>। समुद्राराधनं सम्यक्करिष्याम्याप्तुमीहितम्॥ 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> हहा in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> विचक्षणा in MS. A and B. the reading seems not correct.

<sup>85</sup> वाच्याधिस्तव in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> संप्रति in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> याति in MS. B.

<sup>88 &#</sup>x27;5' is absent in MS. B.

<sup>89</sup> संततिसंपदे in MS. B.

<sup>90 &#</sup>x27;5' is absent in MS. B.

रत्नाकरं परित्यज्य सर्वदैवतसंश्रितम्। आधारं भूभृतामुद्यैः कः परं सेवते सुधीः॥ 42

पुत्रेणैव कुलं यस्माद्धर्मकार्यं धनेन च। तस्मातदुभयप्राप्त्ये सेवे रत्नाकरं प्रिये॥ 43

यशोमत्यिप सावादीददीनवदना पतिम्। सेत्स्यत्यदोऽखिलं<sup>91</sup> कार्यं यद्यब्ध्याराधनोद्यमः॥ 44

जगडूर्ज्जगदानन्दी<sup>92</sup> कस्मिंश्चन शुभे दिने। ययौ वारिनिधेस्तीरे पवित्रे जलसीकरै:॥ 45

ढौकयित्वाथ नैवेद्यं विविधं भक्तिमासुर:। सोऽब्धिमाराधयामास सप्ताहाशनवर्ज्जित:<sup>93</sup>॥ 46

तद्धक्तिव्यक्तसम्प्रीतमानसः १४ सुस्थितामरः । प्रादुर्बभूव तस्याग्रे निज्ञीथे भासुरद्युतिः ॥ 47

प्रोत्फुल्लनयनद्वन्द्वः<sup>95</sup> स धीमाञ्जगडूर्जयात्<sup>96</sup> । प्रणम्य च महाभक्त्या सुस्थितामरमस्तवीत्<sup>97</sup>॥ 48

जयाखिलसुरावास जय शतमहीधर। जय श्रीकनकप्रोचैर्जय रत्नाकरप्रभो॥ 49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> जगडूर्जगदानन्दी in MS. B.

<sup>93 5</sup> is absent in and वर्जित: in the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> संप्रीत in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> हंद: in MS. B.

<sup>96 ..</sup>र्जवात् in MS. A. and MS. B. which seems not correct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was मसूवीत्.. in main MS.

त्वत्त एव समासाद्य जीवनं जलदावली। जगतीं जीवयत्येनामखिलामपि लीलया॥ 50

दर्शनेन तवानेन त्वदेककृतचेतसः। अद्यैव पातकं सर्वं प्रक्षीणं मम हेलया॥ 51

वंशवृद्धिकरं पुत्रं धर्म वृद्धकरीं श्रियम्। देहि मे चेत्प्रसन्नोऽसि<sup>98</sup> रत्नाकर सुरोत्तम!॥ 52

स देवः प्रोचिवानेनं कृतिन् भावी न ते सुतः। सर्वार्थसाधका लक्ष्मीरेका भवतु निश्चला॥ 53

पुरियष्यिस यानि त्वं यानपात्राप्यनेकशः। मद्धरेण न तेषूद्यैः कश्चिद्विघ्नो भविष्यित॥ 54

असाविति वरप्रान्ते तमाह सुरपुङ्गवम्<sup>99</sup>। यथा मे पुत्रहीनत्वं मद्भ्रात्रोरपि किं तथा॥ 55

गिरेति प्रीणयामास तमथो सुस्थितामरः। पुत्रौ पुत्रीं तव भ्राता राजाख्यः समवाप्स्यति॥ 56

स्वकोशान्तरसाराणि रत्नानि कतिचित्पुनः। प्रदाय जगडूकाय तिरोधत्त सुरोत्तमः॥ 57

<sup>98 5</sup> is absent in MS. B.

<sup>99</sup> सुरपुंगवम् in MS. B.

निञाप्रस्थानपटहध्वनिडम्बरसोदरम्। अथ स्वरं प्रयत्नेन चकार चरणायुध: ॥<sup>100</sup> 58

प्रस्वेदविन्दुनिभनिर्गलदच्छतारा विस्त्रस्तमेचकतमोवसना निकामम्। कोकाम्बुजन्मनिवहे विहितापराधा शीघ्रं ययौ रविभियेव निशापिशाची॥<sup>101</sup> 59

अथ रथाङ्गकलारवसूचित-द्युमणिभर्तृसमागमञङ्किनी। हरिहरित्प्रससाद तदाधिकं गलिततामसञ्जोकसमुचया॥<sup>102</sup> 60

जलनिधिवरदानप्राप्तहर्षप्रकर्षः सुहृदयजनजाग्रत्तोषपोषः प्रभाते। कविवरपरिगीतस्फीतकीर्त्तिव्रजोऽसौ<sup>103</sup> निजसदनमवाप प्राज्यसौभाग्यलक्ष्मी॥ 61

इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये रत्नाकरवरदानव्यावर्णनो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः॥

### चतुर्थः सर्गः

पुरन्दरश्रीरधिकं दिदीपे तस्मिन्पुरे सोलकुलप्रदीप:। निर्विघ्नमागच्छदुहारपोतो रत्नाकरोत्कृष्टवरेण शश्वत्॥ 1

<sup>100</sup> Metre of verses 1-58: Anustubh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Metre of verse 59: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Metre of verse 60: Drutavilambitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B. Metre of the verse 61: Mālinī

अथोपकेशान्वयसम्भवेन जयन्तसिंहेन गुणालयेन। संसेवितः श्रीजगडूरनेक<sup>104</sup>– कार्यैकसंसाधनकोविदेन॥ 2

अम्भोधिमार्गेण जयन्तसिंहेन स्तत्पोतमेकं बहुवस्तुपूर्णम्। आदाय लाभाय कृतप्रयत्नः प्रपेदिवानार्द्रपुरं<sup>105</sup> प्रशस्यम्॥<sup>106</sup> 3

उत्तार्य पोतादखिलं स वस्तु शस्तोपदाप्रीणितमन्दिरेश:। कस्यापि गेहं किल भाटकेन तस्थौ गृहीत्वात्र ततो विशालम्॥<sup>107</sup> 4

ग्रावाणमेकं जलधेः स तीरे विलोकयामास पवित्रचेताः। भृत्यान्निजांस्तद्रहणाय<sup>108</sup> सम्य-ग्रियोजयामास निजेच्छया च॥ *5* 

अत्रान्तरे स्तम्भपुरीनिवासी तुरुष्कपोतप्रवराधिकारी<sup>109</sup>। प्रसङ्गतस्तत्र समाययौ च तं प्रस्तरं प्रस्तुतमालुलोके॥ 6

<sup>104</sup> MS. B has noted that two words were जयंतिसहोन; संसेवित श्री.... in main MS.

<sup>105</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was प्रपैदिवानां..in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Metre of verses 1-3: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Metre of verse 4: Indravajrā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> MS. B has noted that two word was त्रिजास्त..in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> तरष्क in MS. B.

भृत्यान्नियुक्तानिप तद्धहाय जयन्तिसिंहेन निवार्यमाणान्। निरीक्ष्य दर्प्यं सुतरां दधानो वाचं जगादेति शकस्य भृत्य:॥ 7

ददाति दीनारसहस्रमेक-ममुष्य यो मन्दिरनायकस्य। स एव गृह्णाति दृढाभिमानी ग्रावाणमेनं जलधेस्तटस्थम्<sup>110</sup>॥ 8

आकर्ण्य तस्येति वचो जयन्तः पुनर्बभाषे भवतोत्कमाशु। द्रव्यं प्रदायार्द्रपुराधिपस्य गृह्णामि पाषाणममुं हठेन॥ 9

स स्लेच्छपोताधिपतिर्जगाद<sup>111</sup> द्रव्यं तदेतदि्द्वगुणं प्रदाय। किलार्द्रभूपस्य कृतोरुसन्धो ग्रावाणमादाय भजामि कीर्तिम्॥ 10

ददाति दीनारकलक्षमेकं नरेश्वरस्यास्य<sup>112</sup> तु योऽभिमानी। गृह्णातु पाषाणममुं स एव जयन्तसिंहस्त्विति जल्पति स्म॥ 11

<sup>110</sup> MS. B has noted that two words were ग्रीवाणमे..; तटस्थ: in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> सेकं in MS. B.

<sup>112</sup> नरेरस्वाम्य यो in MS. B's main MS.

स स्तम्भतीर्थीयतुरुष्कभृत्यो भूयो जगादेति वचः सरोषः। द्रव्यं नृपस्य त्वदुदीरितं द्राक् प्रदाय पाषाणममुं ग्रहीष्ये<sup>113</sup>॥ 12

प्रदाय दीनारकलक्षयुग्म ममुष्य भूपस्य कृतप्रतिज्ञः। गृह्णामि<sup>114</sup> पाषाणममुं समन्ता दित्याचचक्षे स जयन्तसिंहः॥ 13

स स्लेच्छभृत्यः पुनरप्युवाच दीनारलक्षत्रितयं त्विदानीम्। ददाति यो मन्दिरभर्नुरेनं स एव पाषाणमिहाददीत॥ 14

तद्वादमाकर्ण्य समागतस्य नृपस्य तत्र त्वरितं तदानीम्। पणीकृतं द्रव्यचयं प्रदाय पाषाणमङ्गीकृतवाञ्जयन्तः॥ 15

दुष्टग्रहेणाब्द इवाम्बुवर्षं दर्शेण शीतांशुरिव प्रकाशम्। शशाक दातुं द्रविणं तदानीं न तेन वादेन स तत्प्रमाणम्॥ 16

<sup>113</sup> गृहीध्ये in MS. B's main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> गृह्णामि in Ms. B.

पयोदवातेन यथात्मदर्शो यथा हिमेनाम्बु रुहव्रजोऽपि। जयन्तसिंहेन तथा तुरुष्क-भृत्यः परिम्लानिमवाप वाढम्॥ 17

अहो महासाहसवाञ्जयन्तः स्वनायकख्यातिकृते नृपस्य। अदत्त वित्तं दृषदर्थमेत– दित्यूचिरे तत्र जनाः समग्राः॥<sup>115</sup> 18

प्रत्यायनायात्मविभोर्गृहीत— पाषाणकः सोऽथ<sup>116</sup> जयन्तसिंहः। पोतं तमादाय च वस्तुहीनं<sup>117</sup> भद्रेश्वरं मन्दिरमाससाद॥<sup>118</sup> 19

श्रीसोलसूतं<sup>119</sup> प्रणिपत्य सैष पाषाणमानाय्य<sup>120</sup> तमाशु धीर:। जजल्प चानल्पधियां निधान– मिति स्फुटं विस्मितसर्वसद्म॥ 20

तत्कीर्तिरक्षाकृतये त्वदीयं विनाशिनं भूरिधनं मदेयम्। ग्राव्णोऽस्य हेतो:<sup>121</sup> सहसार्द्रपुर्या यद्रोचते तत्कुरु मे त्विदानीम्॥<sup>122</sup> 21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Metres of the verses: 5-18: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B.

<sup>117</sup> MS. B has noted that the words were पातं; हीन in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Metre of the Verse 19: Indravajrā.

<sup>119</sup> श्रीभोलसुतं in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> ... मानाद्य in MS. B.

<sup>121</sup> MS. B has noted that the phrase was ग्राह्मस्य होतोंin main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Metre of the Verses 20-21: Upajāti

जल्पन्तमित्थं परिरभ्य दोभ्यां विमुक्तहर्षाश्रुजलः प्रकामम्। जगज्जनस्तुत्ययशाः कृतज्ञः सभासमक्षं जगडूस्तमाह 123॥ 22

ममाभिमानोत्तमजीवितव्यं त्रातं त्वयैवाद्भृतबुद्धिधाम्रा। किलान्यदेशेपि करोमि तक्ता मुपक्रियां ते सुकृतान्वितस्य॥ 23

वाचं गदित्वेति स सप्रमोद स्तस्मै दुकूलं करमुद्रिकां च। ददौ तदानीं क धियः स्खलन्ति विवेकतो निर्मलमानसानाम्॥124 24

तदीयवाञ्छाधिकमेव दत्वा125 धनं ततो मानधनाभिलाषी। जयन्तसिंहं स ररक्ष दक्षं स्वसन्निधावेव यशोमतीशः  $1^{126}$  25

ग्रावा निजावासवराङ्गणोर्व्यां विमोचितस्तेन मनस्विना सः। स्वबन्ध्वर्गक्रमपङ्कजानां जलेन तस्योपरि शुद्धिहेतो: ॥<sup>127</sup> 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> सुमाह in MS. B. Metre of the verse 22: Ākhyānakī <sup>124</sup> Metre of the verses 23-24: Upajāti

<sup>125</sup> दक्ष in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Metre of the verses 25: Upendravajrā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Metre of the verse 26: Ākhyānakī

भद्रः सुरो भद्रपुराधिनाथो योगीन्द्ररुपं विरचय्य नव्यम्। भिक्षाकृते श्रीजगडूनिवासा– ङ्गणेऽगमततद्गुण हृष्टचितः॥ 27

राजल्लदेवीं ददतीं सुभिक्षां राजप्रियां तत्र स योगिराजः। ततो जगादेति<sup>128</sup> शुभे गृहेशं त्वं साम्प्रतं चानय मे पुरस्तात्<sup>129</sup>॥ 28

आकाशितः श्रीजगडूस्तयासौ तत्रैत्य तद्ग्रावनिबद्धदृष्टिम्<sup>130</sup>। ननाम योगीन्द्रमुदारबुद्धि रन्यद्भृताकारधरं तदानीम्॥<sup>131</sup> 29

त्वं निर्विलम्बं मितमित्रदानीं गृहाण पाषाणममुं गृहान्तः। किलेति योगीन्द्रवचः प्रमाणी<sup>132</sup>— चकार सत्त्वैकनिधिः स धीरः॥<sup>133</sup> 30

ग्राव्णः सन्धौ<sup>134</sup> तीक्ष्णटङ्कप्रहारं चक्रे योग्यादेशतः सत्वरं सः। भिन्नं चासीत्तत्पुटद्वन्द्व<sup>135</sup>मुचै र्दिव्या रत्नश्रेणिराविर्बभूव॥ 31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> जगादिति in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> सांप्रतं & पुरस्तते in MS. B.

 $<sup>^{130}</sup>$  MS. B has noted that the word was तद्ग्रीव.. in main MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Metre of the Verses 27-29: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> प्रामाणी in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Metre of the verse 30: Ākhyānakī.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> संधौ in MS. B.

<sup>135</sup> द्वंदः in MS. B. Metre of the verse 31: Śālinī.

रत्नान्यमून्यत्र मनोहराणि न्यवीविश्चद्भूमिपतिर्दिलीपः। स ग्रावमध्यस्थितताम्रपत्रे<sup>136</sup> वर्णानिति प्रैक्षत सोलसूनुः॥ 32

रत्नानि तानि प्रवरप्रभाणि प्रदाय तस्मै निजदिव्यरूपम्। प्रदर्श्य तत्सुन्दरसौधमध्या– ततस्तिरोधन स सत्प्रभाव: ॥ 33

जगत्त्रयीविश्रुतकीर्तिपुरः परोपकारैकपरायणोऽसौ। दिने दिने भूरितरं बभार श्रितोत्तराञोऽर्क<sup>138</sup> इव स्वतेजः॥<sup>139</sup> 34

मन्ये श्रीजगडूमनोहरयशःकर्पूरपपूरस्तथा चक्रे सौरभसुन्दरं शुचितरं गौरीपतेर्विग्रहम्। अश्रान्तं पितृकाननप्रविलसद्धस्मप्रसङ्गाय नो रक्तार्द्रद्विपचर्मणे स्पृहयित्वा भूयो यथा नाप्ययम्॥<sup>140</sup> 35

बिम्बाधरामृतरसेऽपि विलासिनीनाम् मन्दादरो दिवि बभूव सुपर्ववर्गः। हाहादिगीतजगडूविलसत्सकीर्ति– पीयूषपानरसिकः किल सर्वदैव॥<sup>141</sup> 36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> ताम्रपत्त्रे in MS. B. Metre of the verse 32: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Metre of the verse 33: Ākhyānakī.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Metre of the verse 34: Upendravajrā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Metre of verse 35: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Metre of verse 36: Vasantatilakam.

## इत्याचार्यधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्व्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये भद्रसुरदर्शनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः॥

### पञ्चमः सर्गः

इतश्च वैरिक्षितिपालदर्प्य-घोरान्धकारप्रशमैकभास्वान्। श्रीपीठदेव: सुतरां प्रशस्ति-पाराभिधानं विषयं प्रशस्तम्॥ 1

प्रत्यर्थिनो यस्य गुरुप्रताप-सन्तप्तगात्रा न सुधांशुधाम्ना। न पल्लवैर्नाम्बुरुहैर्जलार्द्रा-निलेन नो निर्हतिमापुरेव॥ 2

स्वसैन्यधूलीपिहितार्किबम्बो भञ्जन्समग्रं किल कच्छदेशम्। अकाण्डसर्प्यत्प्रलयार्णवश्री– भंद्रेश्वरं प्राप स पीठदेव:॥ 3

चौलुक्यवंशैकविभूषणेन श्रीभीमदेवेन<sup>142</sup> नरेश्वरेण। स कारितं भद्रपुरस्य दुर्ग– मपातयत्कातरितारिवर्गः<sup>143</sup>॥ 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> भिमदेवेन in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> MS. B has noted that the word was मपायत्का..in main MS.

प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डभवं वितत्य स्विवक्रमं तत्र समं बलेन। श्रीपीठदेव: प्रययौ स भूपो भूय: समृद्धं निजपारदेशम्॥ 5

भद्रेश्वरे तत्र नवीनदुर्गं निर्मापयत्नं जगडूकमुद्यैः। स पीठदेवोऽपि<sup>144</sup> विदाञ्चकार कारान्तरन्यस्तसपत्रपूगः॥ 6

तत्प्रेषितः कश्चन तत्र गत्वा सन्देशहारी किल वावदूकः। तदूर्गनिर्माणकृतोद्यमं त– मिति स्फुटां वाचमुवाच सद्यः॥ 7

श्रीपीठदेवो नृपतिर्मदीय मुखेन वत्कीति भवन्तमुद्यै:। शृङ्गद्वयं चेत्खरमूर्ध्नि भावि तदा विधातासि च वप्रमन्न॥ 8

तस्येति वाक्यं स निशम्य धीमा-ञ्जजल्प चानल्पमहोभिरामः। खरस्य शृङ्गे विरचत्य मूर्ध्नि दुर्गं करिष्ये विहितप्रयत्नः 145॥ 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> पीतदेवो in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> वाक्य; दुर्ग in MS. B.

वाग्मी स भूयोपि जगाद वाक्यं द्रव्याभिमानेन गरीयसा<sup>146</sup> त्वम्। कृत्वा मदीशेन समं विरोधं कुलक्षयं किं कुरुषे वृथैव॥ 10

कः स्पर्ग्धमानोऽतिमहस्विनाऽप साकं क्रचिन्मङ्गलतां धरायाम्। पञ्य प्रदीपस्य विभां विलोक्य पतन्पतङ्गो लभते विनाञ्गम्॥<sup>147</sup> 11

येनाखिलानां रिपुपार्थिवानां प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डभृतां क्षणेन। हतः प्रतापस्तपते प्रभुर्मे त्वया स सार्खं कलिवार्तयोद्यै: ॥<sup>148</sup> 12

विमुञ्च तद्दुर्ग-149 विधानहेतोः प्रयत्नतां मत्प्रभुवाक्यतस्त्वम्। स्वबन्धुवर्गेण विराजमानः कुरुष्व शश्चत्कमलोपभोगम्॥150 13

इति ब्रुवन्तं जगडूरुवाच दूतं जनाकूतविधिं प्रवीणः। दुर्गं नवीनं किल कारियष्ये भवत्पभोर्भीर्ममनास्ति कापि॥ 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> गरीसा in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Metres of verses 1-11: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Metre of the verse 12: Ākhyānakī.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> तंदुर्ग in MS. B.

<sup>150</sup> Metre of the verse 13: Upendravajrā.

ततः स दूतः पुरुहूतभासा<sup>151</sup> तिरस्कृतस्तेन नितान्तमेव। गत्वा स्वभर्तुः पुरतो जगाद दीनाननस्तत्खलु सर्ववृत्तम्॥ 15

निजप्रतिज्ञापरिपालनायो-पदां गृहीत्वायमथ प्रशस्ताम्। गत्वाणहिल्ले च पुरे ननाम नरेश्वरं श्रीलवणप्रसादम्॥<sup>152</sup> 16

नृपः स चौलुक्यकुलैकदीप-स्तमानमन्तं भृशमालिलिङ्गम्। न्यवीविशत्खस्य समीप एव वरासने दर्शितसत्प्रसादम्॥<sup>153</sup> 17

अथो मुखेन्दुद्युतिवर्द्धमान– समग्रसभ्यप्रमदाम्बुराशिः। नरेश्वरः प्रीणयति स्म वाचा सुधाकिरा सोलसुतं किलेति॥<sup>154</sup> 18

कचित्कुले<sup>155</sup> ते सकले समस्ति क्षेमं कृतिन्भद्रपुरे वरे वा<sup>156</sup>। अस्मिन्निदेशेन विनाप्यकस्मा<sup>157</sup>– त्कृतः किमर्थं भवतागमोऽन्न<sup>158</sup>॥ 19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> पुरुहूतेन इन्द्रेण तुल्या भाः कान्तिर्यस्य स तेन। MS. B reads as पुरुहूतवायूं

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Metre of the verses 14-16: Upajāti.

<sup>153</sup> दर्शित सः प्रसादः in MS. B's source MS; दर्शितसुप्रसादः to be written.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Metre of the verses 17-18: Upendravajrā.

<sup>155</sup> क्कचिदिति कुशलप्रश्ने

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> च in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> नाप्यकस्मत्कृ... in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> भवातागमोत्र in MS. B.

मुमुक्षुचेतः सुसमाधिनेव धरातलं मेरुमहीभृतेव। राज्यं त्वयैकेन मम स्थिरं वै विराजते सद्गुणराजमानः<sup>159</sup> ॥<sup>160</sup> 20

हृदि प्रमोदं नितरां दधानः प्रशस्त-<sup>161</sup>धीर्भूमिभृतो निशम्य। इत्थं गिरं सर्वसभासमक्षं रत्नाकरावाप्तवरो जगाद॥ 21

चौलुक्यवंशार्णवपूर्णचन्द्र त्वत्खङ्गधारायमुनाजलौघे। असूनरीणां निवहो विहाय दुरापमासादयति द्युभोगम्॥<sup>162</sup> 22

देव श्रीलवणप्रसाद भवतः स्फुर्ज्जत्प्रतापानिले<sup>163</sup> क्रूरारातिकुलाटवीचयपरिष्ठोषेण क्रुप्तोदये। क्षोणीमण्डलवर्तिनि स्फुटमिदं चित्रं महत्सर्वदा लोकः प्रत्युत भूरितापरहितो येनैष सञ्जायते॥<sup>164</sup> 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> मान in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> मुमुञ्ज; ..तलमेरु; राज्यत्वयेकेन in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> प्रसस्त in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Metres of the verses 19-22: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> प्रतापानले in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Metre of verse 23: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

अर्णोराजनरेन्द्रसम्भव<sup>165</sup>–भवत्प्रौढप्रतापारुणम् सर्वत्रोदयशालिनं क्षितितले चास्तेन संवर्ज्जितम्। दर्शं दर्शमतीवकातरहृदो न द्वेषिण: कर्हिचि– च्छन्नं छन्न<sup>166</sup>–पलायनैकमतयोप्यङ्घ्रीन्विमुञ्चन्ति ते॥<sup>167</sup> 24

पृथिवीं त्विय शासित प्रभो निखिलारातिविघातकारके। कुशलस्य हि का कथोच्यतां मम गोन्नेऽपि<sup>168</sup> च भद्रमन्दिरे॥<sup>169</sup> 25

त्वया समग्रा रिपुभूमिपाला विनिर्ज्जिता<sup>170</sup> भूरिबलान्वितेन<sup>171</sup>। तथापि चैकस्तव पीठदेवो मन्यते नाज्ञां कलितोरुमन्यु: ॥<sup>172</sup> 26

लोकप्रमोदाय कृतोदयेन निरन्तरस्फारतरप्रभेण। स धुकवद्धास्करसंनिभेन दुर्गं सरित्तटं वा सलिलप्रवाह: ॥<sup>173</sup> 27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> संभव in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> ক্লন্ন in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Metre of verse 24: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Metre of verse 25: Vaitālīyavṛttam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> विनिर्जिता in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Possibly बलाश्चितेन to be read

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Metre of verse 26: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Metre of the verse 27: Ākhyānakī.

चौलुक्यवंशाभरणेन राज्ञा श्री-भीमदेवेन स कारितं प्राक्। अपातयद्भद्रपुरस्य दुर्गं सरित्तटं वा सलिलप्रवाहः ॥<sup>174</sup> 28

यदि खरिशरिस स्याच्छृङ्गयुग्मं कदाचिद् विरचयिस तदा त्वं दुर्गमत्राभिरामम्। इति वचनमवादीन्मां प्रति प्रौढदर्प्ण-वगणितपरभूपः पीठदेवस्तरस्वी॥ 29

अहमपि निजसन्धापालनाय प्रकामम् क्षितिधव तव पार्श्वे शीध्रमभ्यागतोस्मि। त्रिगुणितहरिदश्वक्षत्रियस्फारवंश-प्रभवभटकुलं<sup>175</sup> मे देहि वासाय तत्र॥<sup>176</sup> 30

श्रीचौलुक्यकुलाम्बरद्युतिपतेरादाय<sup>177</sup> तस्मादथो प्रीताच्छ्रीलवणप्रसादनृपतेरुद्दामसद्विक्रमम्। सर्वक्षत्रियवंशसम्भवकुलश्रेणीसनाथं बलं श्रीभद्रेश्वरमाससाद नगरं सोलात्मजः सत्त्ववान्॥<sup>178</sup> 31

भद्रेश्वरे श्रीलवणप्रसाद – भूमीशसैन्येन विराजमानम्।<sup>179</sup> ततस्तमाकर्ण्य च पीठदेव: स्थानं निजं क्वापि विमुच्य नष्ट:॥ 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Metre of verse 28: Upajāt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> भवकुलं in MS. B.

<sup>176</sup> Metre of the verses 29-30: Mālinī

 $<sup>^{177}</sup>$  द्युतिपतेर in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Metre of verse 31: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> विराजमान in MS. B.

प्रचक्रमे कारियतुं स दुर्ग-मुदग्रजाग्रतबाहुवीर्यः। दुर्गोपरिष्टान्निश्चि भङ्गकर्त्त-रसूत्रयद्भद्रसुरस्य सद्म॥<sup>180</sup> 33

सर्वं सैन्यं प्राहिणोद्धूमिभर्त्रे सोऽयं तेजोधिक्कृतारातिजातिः। षड्भिर्मासैस्तत्रजाते च दुर्गे संरक्ष्यान्यक्षत्रियाणां कुलानि॥ 181 34

दुर्गैककोणे घटयाञ्चकार खरं स पाषाणमयं सशृङ्गम्। अधः परिस्थापितपीठदेव मातृप्रसङ्गेन विराजमानम्॥ 35

विभूषयामास खरस्य शृङ्गे स भूयसा सुन्दरकाञ्चनेन। निजप्रतिज्ञापरिपूरणाय कुर्व्वीत मानी हि गुरुप्रयत्नम्॥ 36

स पीठदेवः परिमुच्यमानं न स्थातुमीशः क्वचिदस्य भीत्या। अनेन साकं रचयाञ्चकार सन्धिं<sup>182</sup> गरीयस्तरविक्रमेण॥ 37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Metre of verses 32-33: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Two lines have been swapped in MS. B. Metre of verse 34: Śālinī

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> संधि in MS. B.

गतस्तदाकारणतस्तदानीं तत्रैष भूपो गलितोरुतेजाः। अवाप सन्मानविधीन्विधिज्ञा<sup>183</sup> तस्मादथो सोलकुलावतंसात्॥<sup>184</sup> 38

स्वकारितं रुद्रगिरिप्रकाशं परिस्फुरत्सत्परिखाभिरामम्। अदीदृशतत्र नृपाय दुर्गं स पीठदेवाय च कालवेदी॥<sup>185</sup> 39

सुवर्णशृङ्गद्वयशोभमानं खरं स्वमात्रा कलितं विलोक्य। दुर्गैक-<sup>186</sup>कोणे स नितान्तदु:खा-त्प्राणान<sup>187</sup>मुञ्चन्मुखवान्तरक्त:॥<sup>188</sup> 40

पीठदेव नृपते<sup>189</sup>र्निर्धनत्वं संनिशम्य किल सिन्धुमहीश:। भूरिभीतिकलितो जगडूकं मानदानविधिना पृणति स्म॥<sup>190</sup> 41

हेम्रः शृङ्गे सुचङ्गे खरिशरिस समारोच्य यः कारियत्वा दुर्गं भद्रश्वरे श्रीलवणनरपतेस्तत्र चानीय मानी। षट्स्त्रंशत्क्षत्रवंशप्रभवभटजनश्रेणिमोजोभिरामां निर्माणं पीठदेवं व्यधितं स जगडूरेव सत्यप्रतिज्ञः॥<sup>191</sup> 42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> सन्मानविधी वि.. in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Metre of verses 35-38: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Metre of verse 39: Upendravajrā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> दुर्गेक in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> दु:खाप्राणान् in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Metre of verse 40: Upajāti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> नृपति in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Metre of verse 40: Svāgatā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Metre of verse 41: Sragdharā.

इत्याचार्यधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्व्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये पीठदेवनरपतिदर्पदलनो नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः॥

### षष्ठ: सर्ग:

इतश्च पूर्णिमापक्षोद्द्योतकारी<sup>192</sup> महामित:। श्रीमान् परमदेवाख्य:<sup>193</sup> सूरिर्भाति तपोनिधि:॥ 1

श्रीशङ्खेश्वरपार्श्वस्यादेशमासाद्य यः कृती<sup>194</sup>। आचाम्लवर्द्धमानाख्यं निर्विघ्नं विदधे तपः॥ 2

अघोषशतवर्षेषु द्व्यधिकेषु च विक्रमात्।  $^{195}$  मार्गशीर्षस्य शुक्लायां पञ्चम्यां श्रवणे च भे $^{196}$ ॥ 3

कटपद्राभिधे ग्रामे देवपालस्य वेश्मिन। आचास्रतपसश्चके पारणं<sup>197</sup> य: शुभाशय:॥ 4

प्रबोधं सप्तयक्षाणां सङ्घविघ्नविधायिनाम्। राङ्केशापार्श्वभवने यश्चकार कृपापरः॥ 5

तस्यै चाराधनं कृत्वा चारित्रशीविभूषित:। राज्ञो दुर्ज्जनशल्यस्य कुष्ठरोगं<sup>198</sup> जहार य:॥ 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> द्योतिका in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> देवाख्य in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> याकृती in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> 1302 samvat. <sup>196</sup> Meaning: नक्षत्रे

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> पाराणं in MS B. verse 3 &4 युग्मम्

<sup>198</sup> MS. B has noted that in source MS. the words are राज्ञा; कुष्टरोगं

भूपो दुर्ज्जनशल्योऽपि यस्यादेशमवाप्य सः। शङ्खेशापार्श्वदेवस्य समुद्दधे<sup>199</sup> च मन्दिरम्॥ 7

विश्राणः पञ्चसमितीस्तिस्रो गुप्तीरपि श्रयन्। सप्तदशप्रकारं च संयमं परिपालयन्॥ 8

निर्ममः सर्वभव्यानां प्रतिबोधं दिशनभृशम्। सूरिः परमदेवः स भद्रेश्वरमुपाययौ॥<sup>200</sup> 9

स्वपूर्वजगुरोस्तस्य सूरेर्दुरितघातिनः। जगडूरकरोत्तत्र प्रवेशमहमद्भुतम्॥ 10

तेन विश्राणिते धाम्नि निर्दोषे सूरिपुङ्गवः। तस्थौ जितान्तरारातिर्महातिशयसंश्रयः॥ 11

गुरोरर्मुष्य योगेन जगडूकस्य चेतसि। धर्मरङ्गो बभूवोद्यैः सर्वार्थकरक्षणक्षमः॥ 12

मयूर इव जीमूतं रथाङ्ग इव भास्करम्। चकोर इव शीतांशुं गुरुं दृष्ट्वा स पिप्रिये॥ 13

वाचस्पतिमिवादित्यो भाग्यतो निजराशिगम्। गुरुमाराधयामास जगडूः स विवेकवान्॥ 14

भूरिकालं स्थितस्तत्र सूरिस्तदुपरोधतः। प्रकाशयन्सप्ततत्त्वीं सप्तदुर्गतिघातिनीम्॥ 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> समुद्ध; to make a resoration. it is applied with the locative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Verses 8 & 9: युग्मम्

भावसारकुलोद्भूता श्राविका मदनाभिधा। तत्र प्रारभताऽचास्रवर्धमानतपः शुभम्॥ 16

विना दैवतसान्निध्यान्मुनीनामपि दुष्करम्। इदं तपो जगादेति तां श्रीमज्जगडूगुरु:॥ 17

श्रद्दधाना गुरोर्गानं कुर्वाणा तत्तपः किल। सा साध्वी गमयामास निर्विघ्नं कतिचिद्दिनान्॥ 18

पिबन्तीं<sup>201</sup> कांस्यपात्रेऽभ्भः तां वृत्ते कश्चनासुरः। अधाक्षीज्ञागृविज्वालाविकृत्या तत्तपो द्विषन्॥ 19

जगडूमध्यमभ्रातृप्रिया राजल्लदेव्यथ। विक्रमसिंहधान्धाख्यौ<sup>202</sup> क्रमेण सुषुवे<sup>203</sup> सुतौ॥ 20

तेजस्विनौ शुभानन्दकारिणौ तौ महामती। मेरुशृङ्गमिवार्केन्दु भूषयामासतुः कुलम्॥ 21

पुत्रीं प्रसूय राजल्लदेवी हंसीं गुणोज्ज्वलाम्। गोत्राणन्दकरीं<sup>204</sup> रेजे मृडानीमिव मेनका॥ 22

अथ स्वगुरुवाक्येन सङ्घयात्रामनोरथम्। चकार जगडूश्चित्ते जगतीजनतोपकृत्॥ 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> पिबन्ती in MS. B & पिवन्तीं in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> धान्धा जागृविरग्निरित्यर्थ:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> सुषुवि in MS. B's source MS.

 $<sup>^{204}</sup>$  गोत्रानन्दकरीं in MS. B. पक्षे गोत्राणन्दकरीं–हिमाचलानन्दकरीं मृडानीं–पार्वतीं मेनका इव

लवणप्रसादनृपतेरनन्तरमुदारधीः। श्रीवीरधवलो रेजे गुर्जरावनिपालकः॥ 24

श्रीमान्वीसलदेवाख्यस्तस्य पट्टे नरेश्वरः। प्रशास्ति पृथिवीमुद्यैः प्रतापाक्रान्तशात्रवः॥<sup>205</sup> 25

दित्से<sup>206</sup> शश्वदकामितान्यपि मुदा त्वं याचकश्रेणये भूयांस्याभरणान्यहं तव पुरो याञ्चां करोम्यादरात्। यच्छैकाभरणं च मे पतिमयं सद्यः कृपाम्भोनिधे! यं वक्ति प्रतिपक्षवर्गवनिता श्रेणीनिवद्धाञ्जलि:॥<sup>207</sup> 26

तं चौलुक्यकुलोत्तंसं विशाम्पतिमयं<sup>208</sup> सुधी:। उपदीकृतरत्नौघोऽणहिल्लनगरेऽनमत्॥<sup>209</sup> 27

तस्य प्रसादमासाद्य प्रमोदोत्फुल्ललोचनः। सङ्घयात्रां चिकीरेष भद्रेश्वरपुरं ययौ॥ 28

महेभ्या जिनतत्त्वज्ञास्तमन्वीयुः सहस्रशः। तीर्थयात्रोद्यतं शक्तं सामानिकसुरा इव॥ 29

सूरिः परमदेवोऽथ शुभलग्ने विनिर्ममे। सङ्घाधिपत्यतिलकं जगडूकस्य मञ्जलम्॥ 30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Verses 24 & 25: युग्मम् । Metres of verses 1-25: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> दत्से in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Metre of the verse 26: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> विशांपति in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> The *Sloka* no is 28 in MS. B and continues one number forwarded after that. S Is absent in MS. B.

प्रयाणेऽमुष्य सङ्घस्य नेदुस्तूर्याप्यनेकशः। सूचयन्तीव धर्मस्य राज्यकालं कलिं प्रति॥ 31

चतुर्विधोऽपि संघोऽथ<sup>210</sup> भद्रेश्वरपुरातनात्। निरियाय शुचिर्धर्मो मुनीश्वरमुखादिव ॥ 32

राकाचतुर्दशीपक्षसम्भूतैर्भूरिसूरिभिः। स सङ्घः शुशुभे गङ्गायमुनौघैरिवार्णवः॥ 33

स्वकुलस्येव सत्पुत्राः संयमस्येव साधवः। अथोहुः सङ्घराकटव्रातस्य वृषभा भरम्॥ 34

हेषाभिस्तु तुरङ्गाणां वारणानां किलारवै:। रथानामपि चीत्कारैर्भुजास्फोटैर्भुजाभृताम्<sup>211</sup>॥ 35

नग्नानां $^{212}$  षट्पदध्वानैरुरूलैर्वामचक्षुषाम्। संघे चलित तस्याऽभूच्छब्दाद्वैतमयं जगत्॥ $^{213}$  36

तथाप द्युनदीतीरे सङ्घजं पङ्कतां रजः। यथात्र मग्रमकाश्वा रथमूहुः कथञ्चन् ॥ 37

पदे पदे सुवर्णादिदानप्रीणितयाचक:। वस्त्रपात्रादिना साधूञ्जगडू: प्रत्यलाभयत्॥ 38

स्थाने स्थाने ध्वजारीपं चकार जिनवेश्मसु। जहार जनतादौस्थ्यं जगडूर्जगतीतले॥ 39

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> संघोष in MS. B.

<sup>211</sup> भुजाभृताम् मल्लानामित्यर्थः

<sup>212</sup> वन्दिजनानामित्यर्थः

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Verses 35 & 36 :युग्मम्

असङ्ख्यसङ्गलोकेन समं यात्रां विधाय स:। शत्रुञ्जये रैवतके प्राप चात्मपुरं वरम्॥ $^{214}$  40

प्रसादे<sup>215</sup> वीरनाथस्य श्रीवीरसूरिकारिते। जात्यस्फाटिककोटीरे<sup>216</sup> भद्रेश्वरपुरश्रिय:॥ 41

स्वर्णकुम्भमतिस्फारं<sup>217</sup> स्वर्णदण्डं च सोलभू:। परितो जगतीं गुर्वी चक्रे वक्रेतराशय: ॥<sup>218</sup> 42

तत्रैष देवकुलिकास्त्रिस्रश्चारासनाञ्मभिः<sup>219</sup>। स्वपुत्रीश्रेयसे चारुमष्टापदमचीकरत्<sup>220</sup>॥ 43

जिनानां<sup>221</sup> सप्ततिशतं स तत्रारासनाश्मना। चक्रे स्वभ्रातृपुत्र्याश्च हंस्याः श्रेयोऽर्थमुञ्चकैः॥ 44

तथा त्रिखण्डपार्श्वस्य महातिशयशालिन:। मूर्तौ सुवर्णपत्रं स स्वसुताश्रेयसेऽतनोत्॥ 45

तडागोद्धृतये<sup>222</sup> खातं कुमारमूलराहयो:। कारयामास जगडूरुद्दध्ये कर्णवापिकाम्॥ 46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> All nasal letters are anusvāra in this *Sloka* in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> प्रासादे in MS. A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> कोवीरे in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> कुभगतिं in MS. B's source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Verses 41 & 42 are युग्मम् <sup>219</sup> आरसपाषाणेन

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> चीकरत in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> जिनाना in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> तडागद्वितये in MS. B. but the reading of MS. A is taken in the sense of meaning of construction.

समग्रजिनविम्बानामर्चनार्थमचीकरत्। सोलात्मजः पुरे तत्र विशालां पुष्पवाटिकाम्॥ 47

पुरे कपिलकोट्टाख्ये नेमिमाधवमन्दिते<sup>223</sup>। शीर्णे कालवशेनैष समुद्दघ्ने महाशय:। 48

कुन्नडाख्यपुरे रम्ये हरिशङ्करमन्दिरे। समुद्दधार पुण्यात्मा जगडूर्जगदर्तिहत्॥ 49

प्रासादमादिनाथस्य ढङ्कायां पुरि सुन्दरम्। नवीनं कारयामास यशोमत्याः पतिस्ततः॥ 50

चतुर्विंशतितीर्थेशालयं चारुमचीकरत्। प्रासादं $^{224}$  वर्द्धमानाख्ये $^{225}$  नगरे स नगोत्तमम् ॥ 51

मम्माणिकग्राममयं<sup>226</sup> बिम्बं वीरजिनेशिनु:। तत्र न्यवीविशचैष महोत्सवपुरस्सरम्॥ 52

शतवाटीपुरे चैष द्वापश्चाशज्जिनालयम्। कारयामास नाभेयप्रभोः प्रासादमुत्तमम्॥ 53

विमलाचलशृङ्गे स श्रीनाभेयपवित्रिते। सप्तैव देवकुलिका रचयामासिवाञ्ज्ञुभाः॥ 54

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> The reading is नेमेर्माधवमन्दिरे in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> प्रसाद in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> वर्धमानाख्ये in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> ग्रावमयं in MS. A. The अयम् is pleonastic, and the accusative ग्रामम् is ungrammatical.

सुलक्षणपुरासन्ने ग्रामे देवकुलाभिधे। प्रासादं शान्तिनाथस्य व्यरीरचदसौ<sup>227</sup> कृती॥ *55* 

गुरोः परमदेवस्य सूरेः पुण्यमहोदघेः। अथ पौषघञालां स भद्रेश्वरपुरेऽकरोत्<sup>228</sup>॥ 56

शङ्खें<sup>229</sup>-श्वरजिनाधीशरूप्यपादद्वयाञ्चितम्। गुर्वर्थं कारयामास रिरीचैत्यं<sup>230</sup> स सुन्दरम्॥ 57

गुरोः पौषधशालायां विशालायां स धीरधीः। अथ शुल्वमयं $^{231}$  पट्टं शयनार्थमचीकरत् $^{232}$ ॥ 58

सुरेः परमदेवस्य शिष्यं श्रीषेणसंज्ञितम्। स्थापयामास चाचार्यपदे कृतमहोत्सवः॥ 59

मद्वंश्यसन्ततेरेवाचार्यसंस्थापनामहः। त्वदादेशवशादुद्यैरन्वये तव जायताम्॥ 60

धर्माधारस्य तस्येति वचनं भक्तिपेशलम्। ऊरीचकार सूरीन्द्रस्त्रिकालज्ञानवानसौ॥<sup>233</sup> 61

प्रादुर्बभूव यत्रास्य पुरतः सुस्थिरामरः। तत्र वारिनिधेस्तीरे स देवकुलिकां व्यधात्॥ 62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> चारीरच.. in MS. B. Probably सलक्षणपुरा to be read.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> MS. B reads as भद्रेश्वरे पुरेकरोत्

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> शंखे in MS. A.

<sup>230</sup> पीतलमयचैत्यम्

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> शुद्धमयं in MS. B. the reading of शुल्वमयं seems to be correct in the sense of Copper (ताम्रमयं)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> MS. B. Reads as शयनार्थमचीकरतम्.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Verses 60 & 61: युग्मम्

मसीतिं कारयामास षीमलीसंज्ञितामसौ। भद्रेश्वरपुरे म्लेच्छलक्ष्मीकारणतः खलु॥ 63

शतशः कारयामास ग्रामे ग्रामे पुरे पुरे। सुधास्वादुजला वापीर्जगडूः क्षितिभूषणम्॥ 64

चौलुक्यनृपचक्रेण मुद्गलान्स निर्गलान्। विजित्य जगति स्वास्थ्यं व्यतनोदतिविक्रमः<sup>234</sup>॥ 65

सूरिः परमदेवोऽथ सर्वागमविशारदः। एकान्ते जगडूकाय कथयामासिवानिति॥ 66

द्वीन्द्वग्निचन्द्रवर्षेषु व्यतीतेष्वथ विक्रमात्। दुर्भिक्षं सर्वदेशेषु भावि वर्षत्रयावधि॥ 67

प्रेष्याखिलेषु देशेषु विदग्धानात्मपूरुषान्। सर्वेषामपि धान्यानां त्वं तै: कारय $^{235}$  संग्रहम् $^{236}$ ॥ 68

क्षीरोदवीचिविमलं त्वमर्जय यशोभरम्। समग्रजगतीलोकसञ्जीवननिदानतः॥ 69

इत्थं परमदेवस्य सूरीन्द्रस्य वचः शुचि। पीठदेवनृपारातिस्तथेति प्रत्यपद्यत॥ 70

अथ समग्रराष्ट्रेषु प्रेष्य द्रव्याञ्चितान्नरान्। संग्रहं सर्वध्यानानां कारयामासिवानयम्॥ 71

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> व्यतनोद्यक्तविक्रमः MS. B reads.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> कामय in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> सङ्ग्रहम् in MS. A.

सूरीन्द्रगदिते तस्मिन्सम्प्राप्ते<sup>237</sup> समये तत:। जलदा जगतीपीठे वृष्टिं नैव वितेनिरे॥ 72

प्रचक्रमे कणन्दातुमयं<sup>238</sup> सौलतनूभव:। दुर्भिक्षपीड्यमानायै जनतायै कृपानिधि:॥ 73

इतरेष्विप देशेषु जनसञ्जीवनोद्यतः। ध्यानदानं स्वपूरुषेः प्रावीवृतदयं ततः॥ 74

वर्षद्वये सदुर्भिक्षे व्यतीतेऽथ कथञ्चन। कोष्ठागारकणाः सर्वे प्रक्षीणाः पृथिवीभुजाम्॥ 75

दुर्भिक्षस्य तथा कापि स्फूर्तिरासीद्यथा जनैः। एकस्माद्रम्मतः<sup>239</sup> प्राप्ताश्चणकाश्च त्रयोदञ्च॥ 76

श्रीमद्वीसलदेवोऽपि तदानीं कणवर्जितः। अजूहवन्नागडेन मित्रिणा<sup>240</sup> सोलनन्दनम्॥ 77

व्यवहारिजनश्रेणीसंश्रितोऽथ नरेश्वरम्। दिव्यरक्षोपदापाणिस्तमानमदयं<sup>241</sup> गुणी॥ 78

लक्ष्मीप्रदायिभिः सर्वैर्लक्षणैर्युक्तविग्रहम्। तमालोक्य महीकान्तः स्वस्य चेतसि विस्मितः॥ 79

अत्रान्त्ररे महीभर्तुश्चित्तकूतविधिं ततः। विज्ञाय चारणः कश्चिदित्युचेऽद्भुतधीनिधिः॥ 80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> संप्राप्ते in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> MS. B reads as कणान्दातुमयं

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> एकस्माइम्मतः in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> MS. B has noted that the words read as अज्वहव..; मंत्रिणो in the source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> MS. B reads as दिव्यरत्नोपदा..

सोलपुत्र! भवतुल्यं पुण्यं नोऽन्यास्य विद्यते। नृवामकुक्षौ कः पश्येत्कर्वुरात्रं प्रविश्य च॥ 81

इति तद्वचसा प्रीतश्चौलुक्यपृथिवीपति: l<sup>242</sup> व्यवहारिवरं प्रोचे जगडूकं कथञ्चन॥ 82

सत्पात्र कणकोष्टौकाः $^{243}$  शतानि तव निश्चितम्। श्रुत्वा मया त्वमाहूतः साम्प्रतं $^{244}$  कणकाङ्क्षिणा॥ 83

इति राज्ञो वचः श्रुत्वा स्मित्वासौ सोलसम्भवः। ऊचे नाथ! न सन्त्यत्र मम क्रापि कणाः खलु॥ 84

मद्राक्ये यदि सन्देहः कणकोट्ठेषु तेष्वपि। इष्टकान्तःस्थसत्ताम्रपत्रवर्णान्विलोकय॥ 85

इत्युदीर्य महीशाय जगडूः कणकोष्ठगाः। इष्टका ध्रुवमानाय्य<sup>245</sup> भञ्जयामास हेलया॥ 86

ताम्रपत्रस्थितान्वर्णान्पार्थिवस्त्वित्यवाचयत्। जगडूः कल्पयामास रङ्कार्थे हि कणानमून्॥ 87

जगौ वीसलदेवाय जगडूरिति पर्षदि। तन्मे पापं म्रियन्ते चेज्जना दुर्भिक्षपीडिता:॥ 88

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> The first part of this line in MS. B is blank.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> क: in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> सांप्रतं in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> कोष्टगा:; इष्टिका; ...मानाद्य in MS. B's source MS.

ददावष्टसहस्राणि स तस्मै कणमूटकान्। श्रीमालान्वयकोटीरस्त्रिधा<sup>246</sup> वीरत्वमाश्रित:॥ 89

सोमेश्वरप्रभृतयस्तत्र सर्वे कवीश्वराः। जगडूकं जगत्स्तुत्यं वर्णयामासुरुचकैः॥<sup>247</sup> 90

श्रीश्रीमालकुलोदयक्षितिधरालङ्कारितग्मद्युतिः प्रस्फूर्जत्किलकालीयमदप्रध्वंसदामोदरः। रोदःकन्दरवर्तिकीर्तिनिकरः सर्द्धर्मवल्लीदृढ-त्वक्सारो<sup>248</sup> जगडूश्चिरं विजयतां सर्वप्रजापोषणः॥ 91

पाताले क्षिपता बलिं सुरजिता किं साधु चक्रेऽमुना कद्रेणापि रतेः पतिञ्च दहता का कीर्तिरत्रार्जिता। दुर्भिक्षं क्षितिमण्डलक्षयकरं भिन्दन्भृशं लीलया स्तुत्यः साम्प्रतमेक एव जगडूरुद्दामदानोद्यतः॥<sup>249</sup> 92

परं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मा स्मरित परिमुक्तान्यविषयः प्रकामं श्रीकण्ठः क्षितिधरसुताश्लेषरसिकः। श्रियः कृत्वोत्सङ्गे स्विपिति चरणो विष्णुरुदधौ समुद्धर्तुं लोकं जगित खलु जागिर्ति जगडू:॥<sup>250</sup> 93

एकभूभृत्समुद्धर्त्ता<sup>251</sup> श्रूयते हि चतुर्भुजः। सर्वभूभृत्समुद्धारी<sup>252</sup> जगडूर्द्धिभूजोऽप्यहो॥ 94

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> दानदयायुद्धेषु वीरत्वं प्राप्र इत्यर्थः।

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Metre of verses 27-90: Anustubh

<sup>248</sup> त्वचि सारो यस्य स वंशतुल्य इत्यर्थः

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Metre of verses 91-92: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Metre of verse 93: Śikhariṇī

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> विष्णुपक्षे भूभृच्छब्देन गोवर्द्धननामा पर्वत:

<sup>252</sup> जगडूपक्षे राजशब्दो ग्राह्य:

शक्रादिकसुरा गौणीं दधते लोकपालताम्। वस्तुतः सोलतनये लोकं पालयति स्फुटम्॥<sup>253</sup> 95

त्राणैकपन्नगकुलेन पतित्रनाथाज्जीमूतकेतुतनयेन किमस्य साम्यम्। दुर्भिक्षदैत्यवदनादखिलां धरित्रीं संरक्षतः सुकृतिनः किल सोलजस्य॥<sup>254</sup> 96

किं विष्णुः किं विरश्चिः किमुत पशुपितः पावकः किं मरुक्तिं किं शक्रः किं कुबेरः फणिपितरिप किं नैर्ऋतः किं यमः किम्। किं कूर्मः किं प्रचेता वहित भुविममामन्तकालेऽतिघोरे नैवं नैवं न चैवं प्रियसिखे! विजये सोलजस्तां पिपिर्ति॥<sup>255</sup> 97

सा कामगव्यपि निशम्य तवोरुदानकीर्तिं सुमेरुशिखरे द्युवधूप्रगीताम्। अत्यन्तमत्सरवती ददते न दुह्यमाना स्ववाञ्छितफलानि सुरव्रजस्य॥ 98

नष्टेषु दिक्करिषु पोत्रिणि<sup>256</sup> मुक्तवीर्य्य शेषे नितान्तनतषीर्षपरं परेऽपि। पङ्कान्तरे क्रचन खेलित कूर्मराजे भूमिं बिभिर्ति जगडूः पुनरेक एव॥<sup>257</sup> 99

भजते जगतीतले तुलां जगडूकस्य न तस्य कश्चन। सकलं जनमुद्द्धार यः किल दुर्भिक्षयमाननान्तरात्॥<sup>258</sup> 100

जगडूरूपेण हरिर्दुर्भिक्षमहार्णवाभिभूताम्। द्राग्विभराम्बभूव भूमिं भूयः सम्भूतकारुण्यः॥<sup>259</sup> 101

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Metre of verse 94-95: Anuştubh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Metre of verse 96: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Metre of verse 97: Sragdharā

<sup>256</sup> **तरा**हे

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Metre of verses 98-99: Vasantatilakam <sup>258</sup> Metre of verse 100: Vaitālīyavṛttam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Metre of verse 101: Āryāvṛttam

श्रीश्रीमालकुलैकभूषण! धृते भूमीभरेऽस्मिंस्त्वया धतां पन्नगनायको निजवधूराजीपरीरम्भताम्। स्वर्गङ्गासलिलान्तराष्टककुभाऽन्तेऽपि द्विपाः सन्ततं कुर्वन्तु प्रमुदान्वितां स्वकरिणीवर्गेण केलिं समम्॥<sup>260</sup> 102

जगत्त्रेयेऽस्मिञ्जगडूयशःश्रिया व्यचिन्तयत्निर्मिलते हरिर्ह्यदः। मम द्विपं वाजिनमप्यमुञ्च कः सुरारिरत्राहरदुग्रविक्रमः॥<sup>261</sup> 103

गर्वप्रोद्धुरपीठदेववनितानेत्राञ्चनश्रीहरो हम्मीरप्रतिवीरविक्रमकथासर्वस्वलापोल्वणः। माद्यन्मुद्रलधामचण्डमहिमप्रध्वंसनोष्णद्युतिः श्रीमद्रुर्जरराज्यवर्द्धनकरः सोलात्मजः स्याज्जयी॥<sup>262</sup> 104

कल्पद्रुचिन्तामणिकामधेनुसमन्वितैरप्यमरैरहारि। दौस्थ्यं हि यन्नाखिलभूतलस्य तल्लीलया श्रीजगडूर्भिनित॥ 105

अज्ञानवद्भ्यः सुरधेनुरत्नमहीरुहेभ्यो जगडूद्दिधीर्षुः। आदाय दानं निदधे विधाता वामेतरे श्रीजगडूकराब्जे॥<sup>263</sup> 106

अम्भोरुहेषु सकलेषु सुरस्तवत्या यस्य प्रतापतपनेन विकस्वरेषु। नित्यं विदन्ति न हि सप्तमहर्षयोऽपि सायन्तनं समयमुत्तमभावभाजः॥<sup>264</sup> 107

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Metre of verse 102: Śārdulavīkrīditam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Metre of verse 103: Vamsasthavilam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Metre of verse 104: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Metre of verses 105-106: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Metre of verse 107: Vasantatilakam

न श्लाघ्यः स युधिष्ठिरोऽयमवदद्योऽलीकमेवाहवे द्रोणाचार्यवधाय निर्मितमितः सत्यप्रतिज्ञोऽपि च। धन्यः सोऽपि न नैषधिर्निजवधूर्येनोज्झिता कानने तत्सत्ये जगडूब्हृताविप चिरं वर्ण्योऽस्तु सोलात्मभूः॥<sup>265</sup> 108

विक्रमादित्यभूपेन पुरा भूतलमुद्धृतम्। अधुना जगडूकेनोद्ध्रियते च गतांहसो॥<sup>266</sup> 109

काम्यां कामिप वेत्सि नो यदि कलां सेवां यदि क्ष्मापते— र्नो वेत्सि व्यवसायतां न यदि वा नो वेत्सि कृप्यादिकम्। भर्तस्तर्हि कथं जडाशय! पुनर्नो वेत्सि विश्वम्भरा भारोद्धारधुरीणमद्भुतमितं तं चापि सोलात्मजम्॥<sup>267</sup> 110

निखिलमपि भुवनमेतद्दष्टं दुःसमयदन्दशूकेन। प्रचुरान्नदानसुधया जगडूरुज्जीवयामास॥<sup>268</sup> 111

मान्धाता $^{269}$  न पुरूरवा $^{270}$  न न शिविर्गाधिर्न नो हैहेय $:^{271}$  । दौष्यन्तिर्न $^{272}$  भगीरथो न न मनुर्नापि त्रिशङ्कोः सुतः $^{273}$ ॥ $^{274}$  112

युगत्रयाधिकाचारो जगडूरभवत्कलौ। दुर्भिक्षेऽखिलभूपाला येन लोकैः सहोद्धताः॥ 113

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Metre of verse 108: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Metre of verse 109: Anustubh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Metre of verse 110: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Metre of verse 111: Āryāvṛttam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> तन्नामा सूर्यवंशीयराजा

<sup>270</sup> तन्नामा चन्द्रवंशीयराजा

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> कार्तवीर्यराज:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> भरतराज:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> हरिश्चन्द्रराज:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Metre of verse 112: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

पातकं पूर्वगङ्गाया एकं गच्छति धीमताम्। त्वत्तः पश्चिमगङ्गाभाद्वारिद्र्यमपि नञ्चति॥<sup>275</sup> 114

वृष्टिं वारिधरस्य भानुश्चशिनोरालोकमब्धेस्तथा। सेवां रोहणभूभृतोद्गमफलानीहेन भूयो जनः। दारिद्यव्रजदारणं तव धनं सम्प्राप्य भूमीतले श्रीमत्सोलकुलैकमण्डन! पुनः कुर्वीत कोऽर्थी स्पृहाम्॥ 115

स्थेमक्षेमवती सुवैभववती भूरिप्रतिष्ठावती सत्सौभाग्यवती भृशं नयवती सद्धर्मलीलावती। कीर्तिस्तोमवती महोदयवती नित्यं तथा धीमती कामं कान्तिमती सती विजयतां सोलस्य शाखा चिरम्॥ 116

लीलादारितपीठदेवनिविडाहंकार! ते सद्यशः प्रासादे कलितोन्नतौ चिरतरं लक्ष्म्याः सनाथेऽनघे। भानुः काञ्चनकुम्भित द्युशिखरी प्रोद्दामरैदण्डति स्वःसिन्धोरपि निर्मलध्वजपटत्यम्बुप्रवाहः स्फ्रुरन्॥<sup>276</sup> 117

धन्वन्तरिर्भूवलयेऽवतीर्णो भूयोऽपि सोलात्मभुवच्छलेन धान्यौषधिं संग्रहवान्निहन्तुं दुर्भिक्षरोगं जनतार्तिहेतुम्॥<sup>277</sup> 118

हे ब्रह्मंस्तव साधु बुद्धिललितं मन्यामहे सर्वदा श्रीश्रीमालकुले कलङ्कविकले येन त्वया निर्ममे। सोऽयं श्रीजगडूरुदारचिरत नो चेद्धरित्रीतलं दुर्भिक्षव्यसनेन पीडितमिदं कस्मात् स्थिरत्वं श्रयेत्॥<sup>278</sup> 119

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Metre of verse 113-114: Anustubh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Metre of verses 115-117: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Metre of verse 118: Indravajrā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Metre of verse 119: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

कल्पद्रुचिन्तामणिकामधेनवः श्रीसोलसूनुत्रितयच्छलाद्भुवि। मन्येऽवतेरुस्त्रिदिवाद् द्युसद्मनां स्वास्थ्यं कथं भावि हि तद्वियोगिनाम्॥<sup>279</sup> 120

दाने माने विवेके सुवचिस सुनये साहसे धाम्नि धैर्ये दाक्षिण्ये च त्रपायां गुरुजनविनतौ भावनायां दयायाम्। औचित्ये वा धृतौ वा धरणिधरकुलस्थापनायां धरायामेक: श्रीसोलजन्मा रचयित जगडूर्मानसं सर्वदापि॥<sup>280</sup> 121

इति तैः कविभिर्वण्यमानं श्रुत्वा निजं यशः। नम्रीचकार वदनं जगडूस्तत्र<sup>281</sup> लज्जया॥ 122

भूरिवैभवदानेन प्रीणयित्वा स तान् कवीन्। चौलुक्यभूपमापृच्छय भद्रेश्वरमुपाययौ॥ 123

स द्वादशसहस्राणि प्रददौ कणमूटकान्। हम्मीरनामधेयाय सिन्धुदेशमहीभुजे॥ 124

अष्टादश सहस्राणि<sup>282</sup> स ददौ कणमुटकान्। भूपायावन्तिनाथाय तदा मदनवर्मणे॥ 125

स ददौ गर्जनेशाय<sup>283</sup> मोजदीनाय सत्वरम्। सद्धान्यमुटकानां<sup>284</sup> च सहस्राण्येकविंशतिम्॥ 126

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Metre of verse 120: Indravamśā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Metre of verse 121: Sragdharā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> जगडूसूत्र in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> सहम्राणि in MS. B.

<sup>283</sup> इन्द्रप्रस्थपतये

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> सद्घाम्यमूट.. in MS. B.

राज्ञे प्रतापसिंहाय काशीनाथाय<sup>285</sup> सोलभू:। द्वात्रिंशतं सहस्राणि प्रददौ कणभूटकान्॥ 127

स्कन्धिलाय महीभर्त्रे चक्रिस्थातिभृते तदा। स द्वादशसहस्राणि प्रददौ कणमुटकान्॥ 128

द्वादशाभ्यथिकं दानशालाशतमुदारधी:। जगडू: सुकृताधारो जगज्जीवातुरातनोत्॥ 129

स्वर्णदीनारसंयुक्तांल्लज्जापिण्डान् स कोटिश:। निशायामर्पयामास कुलीनाय जनाय च॥<sup>286</sup> 130

नवनवितसहस्रयुता नवलक्षा धान्यमूटकानां सः। अष्टादशरैकोटी<sup>287</sup>रर्थिभोऽदत्त दुःसमये॥ 131

निःसीमदानदाता हरिकान्ता हृदयहारशृङ्गारः। दुर्भिक्षसंनिपाते जगडूस्त्रिकदुपमा भेजे॥<sup>288</sup> 132

पराभवो नलस्यापि कलिना येन निर्ममे। सोऽप्युचैर्जगडूकेन त्याजितो जगतीतलम्॥ 133

स साधर्मिकवात्सल्यकर्मनिर्मलमानसः। इतरेष्वपि देशेषु पुरुषैः स्वैरचीकरत्॥<sup>289</sup> 134

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> कासी.. in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Metre of the verses 122-130: Anustubh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> अष्टादशं in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Metre of the verses 131-132: Āryā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Metre of the verses 133-134: Anustubh.

नक्तं नक्तं निहितकनकोदारदीनाररम्यान् प्रच्छन्नं यः सुचरितनिधिर्मोदकान् कोटिशोऽदात्। लज्जावेशादनुदितिगरे जात्यलोकाय कामं भूतो भावी भवति कृतिना तेन तुल्यः क्षितौ कः?<sup>290</sup> 135

इति वत्सरित्रतयदुःसमयं विदलय्य तीव्रतरमप्यवनौ। जगडूः समग्रजनजीवनकृत्समभूततरभूतियुतः॥<sup>291</sup>136

इत्याचार्यधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकिशष्यश्रीसर्व्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये सकलजनसञ्जीवनो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः॥

सप्तमः सर्गः

विरचय्य वृष्टिमथ वारिधरा जगतीतलेऽपि सकले रुचिराम्। शमयाम्बभूवुरुरुदुः समयप्रभवं भयं तनुमतां सपदि॥<sup>292</sup> 1

अम्भोधरा नर्तितनीलकण्ठाः स्वगर्ज्जनच्च्छद्ममृदङ्गनादाः। सञ्जातकव्रातरवञ्छलेन जगुस्तरां श्रीजगडूयशांसि॥ 2

धाराधरा गर्जनकैतवेन सोलात्मजं प्राहुरिति प्रमोदात्। त्वमेव सञ्जीवनदानशीलो वर्षत्रयं प्रीणयति स्म पृथ्वीम्॥<sup>293</sup> 3

अतिधान्यबृद्धिकलिता पृथिवी समजायताम्बुधरवर्षणतः। मुमुदे जनस्तदनु चारुतरं जगडूयशः प्रतिदिनं प्रवदन्॥<sup>294</sup> 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Metre of the verses 135: Mandrākantā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Metre of the verse 136: Pramitākṣaravṛttam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Metre of the verse 1: Pramitākṣaravṛttam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Metre of the verses 2-3: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Metre of the verse 4: Pramitākṣaravṛttam

परमदेवगुरुं<sup>295</sup> त्रिदिवाङ्गनाजनविलोचनसम्मदकारकम्। समवगत्य ततो जगडुः कृती स्वहृदि शोकभरं नितरां दधौ॥<sup>296</sup> 5

विमलाचले<sup>297</sup> स किल रैवतकेऽखिलसङ्घलोककलितः सुकृती। अगमत्पवित्रितधनप्रकरः शुचिपात्रदानकलया सततम्॥ 6

अथ भद्रमन्दिरमुपेत्य कृती जगडूर्गत्त्रयविसारियशः। निजसङ्घलोकगुरुभक्तिविधेरपुनीत नीतिललितः स्वकुलम्॥<sup>298</sup> 7

वीसलक्षितिपतेर्नियोगतो नागडः शुचिरियाय मन्त्रिराट्। तत्र सोलतनयेन निर्मलस्नेहवैभववताथ संस्कृतः<sup>299</sup>॥ 8

भूभुजोऽस्य जलधेस्तटे तरीः सतुरङ्गमवती समन्ततः। उन्ममज्ज मरुतातिवेगतो<sup>300</sup> भग्नमाप च तपात्ययागमे॥ 9

विंशतिस्तु तुरगा मता जलादेक एव तुरगः सजीवितः। तीरमाप किल तद्गहोहोद्यमं निर्ममे झटिति नागडः<sup>301</sup> सुधीः॥ 10

भूपमन्त्रिवरमाह सोलभूर्मुच्यतां मम हयेभिलाषता । अन्यवस्तुनि विधीयते मनो नो कदापि कृतिना त्रपिष्णुना॥ 11

नागडोऽपि गदिति स्म हे कृतिन्मत्प्रभोस्तुरग<sup>302</sup> एष निश्चितम्। अन्यथेदमपि चेत्तदा ददे विंशति हयवरांस्तवाप्यहम्॥ 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> गुरु in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Metre of the verses 5: Drutavilambitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> विमलाचलेत्य in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Metre of the verse 6-7: Pramitākṣaravṛttam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> घमत्कृत: in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> वैगतो in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> नागक: in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> खुरग in MS. B.

एवमस्त्वित निगद्य सोलभूर्वाजिनस्तदनु कण्ठदेशतः। चर्मणा कलितमाददे स्वयं पत्रमाशु निजनामभूषितम्<sup>303</sup>॥ 13

न्यकृताननमथो<sup>304</sup> तदीक्षणादाह नागडमिति प्रसन्नहृत्। अब्धिरेष मम कामपि श्रियं नैव रक्षति वरप्रदः क्वचित्॥ 14

नार्थये खलु पणीकृतान्हयान्विंशतिं द्विजवर! त्वदग्रत:। आवयोर्गुरुतरा विजृम्भतां<sup>305</sup> प्रीतिरेव शुचिसौख्यकारिणी॥ 15

वीसलक्षितिपधीसखोत्तमः सोलपुत्रवचनेन चारुणा। प्रीतिमाप नितरां निजाशये को न हृष्यति विवेकिनां गुणै:॥<sup>306</sup> 16

श्रीषेणसूरिचरणाम्बुजराजहंसः सद्दानकीर्तिभरनिर्जितकल्पवृक्षः। चक्रे स्वतेजिस जिनाधिपतिप्रणीत– तत्त्वैकचिन्तनिधयं सुकृती सदैव॥307 17

भद्रेश्वरे भद्रजनाग्रतोऽथ<sup>308</sup> श्रीषेणसुरौ वदति प्रभाते। सम्यक् स्वरूपं च सरीसृपाणां समागतः कश्चन दुष्टयोगी॥<sup>309</sup> 18

स मत्सरी नागमतोरुवादं समं मुनीन्द्रेण चकार तेन। समग्रसभ्येषु विचक्षणेषु तदा निषण्णेषु<sup>310</sup> चमत्कृतेषु॥<sup>311</sup> 19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> भूषित: in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> व्यत्कृतानतो in MS. B's source text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> विक्षंभतां in MS. B's source text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Metre of the verse 8-16: Rathodhattā

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Metre of the verse 17: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> 5 is absent in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Metre of the verse 18: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> निषणेषु in MS. B.

<sup>311</sup> Metre of the verse 19: Upendravajrā

विषोल्वणेन प्रहितेन तेन केनापि नागेन च दश्यते स्म। कराङ्गुलीपेशलपल्लवाग्रं श्रीषेणसुरे रमलाशयस्य॥ 20

तस्मिन् गते सूरिवरस्तदानीं जगाद भव्यानिति तीव्रदुःखान्। अहं विशाम्यत्र हि गर्भगेहे ध्यानं प्रकर्तुं विषनाशहेतो:॥ 21

सम्मोहिनीं साधियतुं स्विवद्यां कपालमोहेन ममैष योगी। आकृष्टस्वङ्गैरिह तद्भविद्धिर्द्वारं नियन्त्य स्फुटमेव भाव्यम्॥ 22

हुङ्कारनादश्रवणान्ममाञ्च द्वारं समुद्धाव्य च गर्भधाम्नः। विलोक्यध्वं सुकृतैककामा यूयं च मामम्बुरुहासनस्थम्॥ 23

प्रपेदिरे तेऽस्य वचस्तथेति स गर्भगेहान्तरूपेत्य सद्यः। नियोजयामास मनः स्वकीयं शुद्धे परब्रह्मणि मुक्तदोषः॥ 24

सद्ध्यानयोगेन निवार्य<sup>312</sup> सूरिर्विषस्य तस्य प्रसरं निजाङ्गे। हुङ्कारनादं रचयाञ्चकार प्रापुः प्रमोदं च समग्रभव्याः॥ 25

कराङ्गुलीपल्लवदेशभाजो विषस्य बिन्दूनथ सूरिराजः। छेदं नखध्न्या स्वयमेव कृत्वा प्रपातयामास पतद्ग्रहान्तः॥ 26

विषार्तिमुक्तं स गुरुं प्रणम्य सुरीश्वरं भक्तिभरेण योगी। गीतं जगौ चारुतरं तदीयमध्यात्मरूपार्थयुतं तदैव॥ 27

स योगिनं सूरिरसौ जगाद कारुण्यपाथोनिधिरित्थमेव। इतो दिनात्सप्तमके दिने ते पश्यामि मृत्युं भूजगादमुष्मात्॥ 28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> निर्वार्य in MS. B.

कन्यापुरे सोऽथ जगाम योगी तत्रान्ययोगीन्द्रकृतोरुवादः। अवाप तस्मादुरगाच मृत्युं निवेदिते सूरिवरेण लग्ने <sup>313</sup>॥ 29

श्रीषेणसूरेरिति सत्प्रभावविभूतिमालोक्य स सोलजन्मा। भृशं चमत्कारभरं दधार हर्षप्रकर्षः च निजाशयान्तः॥ 30

श्रीसङ्घयात्राप्रमुखानि धर्मकार्याण्यनेकानि तदीयवाक्यात्<sup>314</sup>। स साधयामास चिरं धरित्रीशृङ्गारहारः कलिनाञ्चकारी॥ 31

अथ प्रपूर्यायुरयं स्वकीयं श्रीषेणसुरे: श्रुतधर्मतत्त्व:। जगज्जनोद्धारकर: किल द्यां ययौ हरेर्लोचनपावनाय॥<sup>315</sup> 32

वैरोचनोऽद्य सुकृती शिविरद्य चाद्य जीमूतकेतुतनयोऽद्य च विक्रमार्कः। अद्यैव भोजनृपतिश्च जगाम नाकमस्मिन्गते निधनतामिति लोके उचे॥<sup>316</sup>33

प्रशमिताहितकौशिकसम्मदे वसुनिरस्तसमस्ततमोभरे। क्षितिरियं जगडूसवितर्यहो अजनि कालहतेऽपमदा क्षणात्॥<sup>317</sup> 34

उत्तरयामास स गर्जनेशो मौलिं शिरस्तः<sup>318</sup> क्षितिपोऽर्जुनोऽपि। रुरोद वाढं विदधेऽशनं न दिनद्वयं सोऽपि च सिन्धुभूपः॥ 35

श्रुत्वास्य सम्यक् परलोकवार्ताः तदेति तद्यारुगुणौधहृष्टः। कः कः क्षितीञ्ञो न चकार ञोकं क्षोणीतलेऽस्मिन्निखिलेऽपि नूनम्॥<sup>319</sup> 36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> वरेणधरस्ते in MS. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> तदीलवाक्यात् in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>315</sup> Metre of the verses 20-32: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Metre of the verse 33: Vasantatilakam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Metre of the verse 34: Drutavilambitam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> मोलिंशिरस्तु in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Metre of the verses 35-36: Upajāti

मन्ये मोहमहीपतिः स्वमनसि प्राप प्रमोदोदयं जातः प्रौढतरप्रतापविभवः प्रोल्लासकारी कलिः। आतङ्कविभराम्बभूव सुतरां धर्मस्तु सोलात्मजे स्वर्गस्त्रीजनचित्तसंमदकृति प्रोचैरभाग्याद्धवः॥320 37

तद्बान्धवौ राजकपद्मसंज्ञौ गुर्रोगिरा<sup>321</sup> शोकभरं विमुच्य। भूयोऽपि सद्धर्मविधौ धुरीणौ बभूवतुर्भूपती<sup>322</sup>माननीयौ॥<sup>323</sup> 38

प्रेङ्खच्छारदपार्वणेन्दुकिरणस्तोमावदातस्फुर-त्कीर्तिश्रीभरनिर्मलीकृतभुवौ श्रीसङ्घमुख्याविमौ। श्रीषेणाह्वयसूरिराजचरणद्वन्दैकसेवापरौ श्रीमद्वीसलसत्कुलं चिरतरं संशोभयामासतु:॥ 39

तेजः सर्वसपत्नदर्पदलनं विश्वम्भरोद्धरकृद्दानं साहसमप्यनेकसुमनश्चेतलसदविस्मयम् । बुद्धिः श्रीजिनधर्ममर्मविषया चन्द्रप्रभासुरा

कीर्ति: श्रीनिलयस्य तस्य जगडूनाम्नः प्रियं किं न किम्॥ $^{324}$  40

इत्याचार्यश्रीधनप्रभगुरुचरणराजीवचञ्चरीकशिष्यश्रीसर्वाणन्दसूरिविरचिते श्रीजगडूचरिते महाकाव्ये त्रिविष्टपप्रापणो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः॥

323 Metre of verses 38: Upajāti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Metre of verses 37: Śārdulavīkrīḍitam.

 $<sup>^{321}</sup>$  गुरौर्गिरा in MS. B's source MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> भुपति in MS B.m

<sup>324</sup> Metre of verses 39-40: Śārdulavīkrīditam.

#### 3.3. Summary of the Text Jagaḍūcarita

At the very beginning, there is an invocation of Pārśvajinanātha, who may prevail in liberation, whose head is adorned with the snake as bright as the brilliant ray of a gem. Then Mother Sarasvatī is invoked for demolishing the darkness of ignorance and to grace the poet for writing this  $k\bar{a}vya$ . Next the poet has paid his homage to Sūricandra, who is conversant in executing various teachings of the *arhats*.

The most remote ancestor of Jagaḍū's family is Vīyaṭṭhu, who belonged to the Śrīmāla race. Vīyaṭṭhu's son was Varaṇāga who settled in Kanthā. He was the *Saṃghādhipa* or leader of the community of Jains on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Vimalādri (Śatruñjaya) and Raivatādri (Girnar). Vāsa, the representative of the next generation also exhibited his earnestness for the faith of his ancestors and 'purified his great wealth by making donations to worthy men'. He had five sons Vīsala, Vīradeva, Nemi, Cāṇḍū and Srīvatsa. Among them, Vīsala only had four sons, viz. Lakṣya, Sulakṣṇa, Solaka and Sohī. Solaka's immense fame gradually spread in the world. (Canto I).

Bhadreshwar, a famous town belongs to Kutch (Kaccha). This wealthy town is on the coast of the sea where the merchants commute for their business. The town is full of natural beauty. The sole protector of the town against all misfortunes is goddess Ghurghurā, the benefactor of all desirable wealth. Solaka left Kanthā and started to live in this town Bhadreshwar in order to earn more wealth (Canto II).

Solaka had three sons with his wife Śrī. They were Jagaḍū, Rāja and Padma. Jagaḍū's father Solaka died early, 'when his father gladdened the maids of heaven by his embraces, Jagaḍū gave his mind to the task of uplifting the heavy burden of the family.' Jagaḍū's wife was Yaśomatī, who surpassed the *apsarās* Rambhā, Tilottamā and Menā with her beauty. Jagaḍū's two younger brothers Rāja and Padma married Rājalladevī and Padmādevī respectively. Soon after, Jagaḍū accidentally came in possession of a talisman which helped him obtain excessive wealth. The incident was as follows: 'Once, when he was walking near the town, he saw a shepherd trending his goats. In the herd, he watched a beautiful she-goat, from whose neck hung a *maṇi* (an amulet). He wanted to have the animal and bought it from the shepherd with a very small price. Jagaḍū took the lucky *maṇi* from the goat and started to worship it secretly. Then the wealth grew abundantly through the power of this *maṇi* in his dwelling, just as the true faith grows in the hearts of the virtuous.' Jagaḍū started to help the needy people and by his extreme generosity, 'his fame, sprung from

works of true liberality and resplendent like the waves of the milk-ocean, illumined the three worlds.'

Yaśomatī, Jagadū's wife gave birth to a daughter Prītimatī about this time. She was married to Yaśodeva, who unfortunately died very early after the marriage. Jagadū wanted to get his daughter remarried with the consent of the elders of his family, but two elder widows of the family opposed the proposal and Jagadū considered and accepted their objection. He then executed pious works like 'digging wells, reservoirs and the like, for the welfare of the deceased husband of his daughter'. Jagadū was in much sorrow for not having any son in his lineage. He decided to worship the god of ocean following his wife's advice. The incident was like this: 'On an auspicious day he went to the seashore, devoutly offered food-oblations of various kinds and worshipped there seven days without using a seat. Susthitāmara, the god of ocean appeared at midnight brilliantly resplendent pleasing with Jagadū's devotion. Then Jagadū quickly told his desire for a son to increase his race and for wealth in order to increase his spiritual merit. Thereupon the god told him that he would not have a son, but he will be fortunate enough to gain huge wealth. He promised that all the ships of Jagadū will reach safely to the port always. On a further note Susthitāmara prognosticated that Jagadū's brother Rāja would have two sons and a daughter. The deity presented excellent jewels from his treasury to the merchant and disappeared'. Hereafter Jagadū, the lamp of Sola's race, whose ships always arrived safely by virtue of the boon granted by the ocean, shone in that town with exceeding brilliance of wealth. (Canto III).

Jayantasimha, one of Jagaḍū's servants once sailed in one of his ships filled with merchandise to Ādrapura (Ormuzd or Hormuz) for trade. After he reached there Jayantasimha hired a large warehouse for the transactions of goods. In the process of transactions, a large stone lying on the shore attracted his attention and he wanted to acquire it. But then the captain of a *Turuṣka* vessel from Stambhapura (Cambay) arrived and he also showed interest for the stone. When Jayantasimha tried to stop him to get that, the captaion of another ship exclaimed, 'let him take it, who pays one thousand *dīnāras* to the lord of the town'. Jayantasimha was ready to give the amount, but another person offered higher bids with two thousand, one lakh and three lakh *dīnāras*. Finally Jayantasimha paid the highest amount i.e. three lakh *dīnāras* to the prince of Ādrapura and returned to Bhadreshwar with the empty ship and the large stone. Jayantasimha went to his master Jagaḍū and told, 'in order to save your credit, I have lost much of your wealth in Ādrapura for the sake of this stone; do now with me, as pleases you'. Jagaḍū embraced him readily

with tears of joy and replied, 'you, who art the adobe of wonderful wisdom, had protected my honour, the best part of my life, even in a foreign country; what service shall I do you, my benefactor?' He also presented him a shawl and a signet ring as a token of gratitude. One day Bhadra, the deity of Bhadreshwar appeared in disguise of a *yogin* in front of Jagaḍū and directed him to remove the stone from the courtyard of his house, where it was kept previously and to divide it into halves with a chisel. The stone was divided into two halves and a lot of jewels were found there which had been hidden by the ancient king Dilīpa. Jagaḍū offered the jewels to the *yogin* who assumed his divine form of deity Bhadra and disappeared. (Canto IV).

Kutch was invaded then by king Pīthadeva, ruler of Pāra. Pīthadeva, who obscured the sun's disk with the dust raised by his army and possessed a glory equal to that of the ocean which at the destruction of the world suddenly rolls over the land, destroyed the whole country of Kutch and reached Bhadreshwar. He laid low the rampart of Bhadrapura which was built by the illustrious king Bhīmadeva, the chief ornament of the Caulukya race. Having there given vent to the valour of his terrific mighty arms, the illustrious king Pīṭhadeva returned with his army to his country of Pāra. When Pīṭhadeva learnt that Jagaḍū was boldly building a new rampart for Bhadreshwar, he sent there an eloquent messenger, who addressed him with the following clear speech, "The illustrious king Pīthadeva thus loudly speaks to you through my mouth that when two horns grow on the head of an ass, then you will erect here a rampart". Hearing the speech of the messenger, Jagadū answered, "two horns I shall set on the head of an ass; with strenuous effort I will build this wall". Again the messenger warned Jagadū to leave his pride of wealth and stop the work otherwise his powerful master would destroy the race of Jagadū. But Jagadū promised to build a new rampart. The messenger was sorely slighted by the grace of Jagaḍū and went to his master to narrate all that happened. Jagadū then went with splendid gifts to Anahilla town to the illustrious king Lavanaprasada. The king asked, "Does it stand well, O virtuous one, with thy whole race and excellent Bhadrapura? What is the reason that you come here even our order?" Then Jagadū eulogized the king and his ancestors and told the king, "you, the most mighty one, had completely subdued all hostile princes; yet one of them, wrathful Pīṭhadeva, would think of disobeying your commands. As the flood of the waters destroys the river bank, even so he laid low the walls of Bhadra's town, built by Bhīmadeva, the illustrious king, the ornament of the Caulukya race". Then the courageous son of Sola received an army of 'true boundless valour, consisting of squadrons of all kstriya clans' from the pleased king Lavanaprasada and returned to Bhadreshwar. When Pīṭhadeva heard that an army from Caulukya king made Jagadū resplendent in Bhadreshwar, he left his

court and fled to an unknown place. Jagaḍū began to rebuild the rampart and above it he constructed a dwelling of the god Bhadra, the guardian deity of the town. The walls had been completed in six months and he sent the whole army back to the king keeping other warriors in this work. After the completion of the rampart it resembled Siva's mountain and was beautified by an excellent encircling moat. Then Jagaḍū sent Pīṭhadeva a golden idol of an ass, adorned with two golden horns resembling the image of his mother. Seeing this Pīṭhadeva vomited blood and died of excessive grief. (Canto V).

Paramadeva, a pious monk of the *Pūrṇimā gaccha* lived about this time. He had performed a difficult penance, the *Ācāmlavardharmāna Tapas* on the fifth lunar day of the month *mārgaśīrṣa* under the *Śravaṇā nakṣtra* in VS. 1302 at Kaṭapadra in the house of Devapāla. He had compassionately 'awakened' seven *yakṣa*s who did evil to the Jain community in the temple of Pārśanātha at Śaṅkhaśvera. The monk had freed the king Durjanaśalya from leprosy by his miraculous power. This Jain monk was the ancestral spiritual director of Jagaḍū. When he came to Bhadreshwar, Jagaḍū gave him a heartfelt reception and requested for a prolonged stay in the town. There Paramadeva expounded the seven *tattvas* of Jain faith which destroy the seven kinds of miseries. Madanā, a lay member of the sect who belonged to the Bhāvasāra family, tried to perform the *Ācāmlavardharmāna Tapas* under the instructions of Paramadeva. But after some days of successful completion of it she was burnt by the *asuras* who hated the penance, while she drank water from a round metal vessel. After some time Rājalladevī, the wife of Jagaḍū's brother Rāja, gave birth to two sons successively, Vikramasimha and Dhāndha, and to a daughter Hamsī.

Now, Jagaḍū arranged a pilgrimage with the Jain community of his town following the wish of his *guru*. Before he undertook it, he went to Aṇahilla *nagara* to seek the permission for the pilgrimage and also for the special protection against the king of Gujarat. At that time the throne was occupied by the king Vīsaladeva, who had succeeded Vīradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasāda. After getting the permisiion, in order to start the pilgrimage many rich merchants assembled on an auspicious day. The *guru* Paramadeva set the *tilaka* of leadership on Jagaḍū's forehead and the monks, nuns of *Pūrṇimā gaccha* and local inhabitants started the journey. They went to Śatruñjaya and Raivataka (Girnar) mountains, two famous places of Jain pilgrimage. After his return Jagaḍū engaged himself in numerous works of piety, of which the following description is given:

"On the temple of Vīranātha, built by illustrious Vīrasūri, which was the excellent crystal diadem of the Fortuna of Bhadreshwar, he set a golden, i.e. gilt, pinnacle (*kumbha*)

and a golden, i.e. gilt, flagstaff. Even there he caused to be erected three chapels (devakulikā) of white marble (ārāsanāsman) and a beautiful Astāpada slab for the welfare of his daughter. Even there he set up one hundred and seventy statues of *Jinas* of white marble for the welfare of Hamsī, his brother's daughter. Further, he put up a gold plate near the image of Trikhanda Pārśva, for the welfare of his daughter. In connection with the two tanks, dug by Kumāra, and Mūlarāja, he caused to be made a square well (vāpikā). town he caused to be made a large flower the same garden. In the town of Kapilakotta he made a restoration at the Mādhava temple of Nemi. In the town of Kunnada he made a restoration at the temple of Hariśamkara In the town of Dhanka, he built a new temple of Ādinātha. And in Vardhamana, the modern Vadhvān in Kathiawar, a temple, the home of the twenty four *Tīrthaṅkaras*. In the village of Mammānikāl, he set up an image of the *Tīrthaṅkara* Vīra. In the town of Śatavatī, he built a temple of the lord Nābheya (Ādinātha), the home of fifty two Jinas, i.e. containing fifty two images. On the top of Vimalācala, he erected seven chapels (devakulikā). In the village of Devakula near Sulakṣaṇapura, he erected a temple of Śāntinātha. For his spiritual director Paramadeva he built in Bhadreshwar *Pausadhaśālā*, i.e. Upāśraya. He presented him with a Caitya of yellow brass, marked with the feet of the Śańkheśvara Jina in silver. He also defrayed the expenses of the festivities, which took place, when Paramadeva's pupil, Śrīseṇa, was made an ācarya and vowed that nobody but men of his line should have the honour of rendering the same service to the monks of Paramadeva's line. On the spot where Susthitāmara appeared to him on the shore of the ocean he erected a chapel. Finally he built a mosque (masīti), called Śīmalī, i.e. probably Ism'alī with the means of the mlecchas.

The spiritual director of Jagaḍū, Paramadeva disclosed the secret to him that "when the year 1312 after Vikaram has passed, a famine will afflict all countries during three years. So send your clever servants into all countries and make them collect stores even of all kinds of cereals. Gain great fame, brilliant like the waves of the milk-ocean, by saving the lives of men in the whole world". Jagaḍū obeyed his master's orders and did so. When the time came, the clouds showered no rain Jagaḍū began to distribute grains to the suffering people. The granaries of the kings were exhausted after two years of famine and the prices rose to extreme height. King Vīsaladeva was at the end of his resources. He then sent for Jagaḍū through his minister Nāgaḍa. There was a conversation between the king and the merchant which went like this: "the king told that according to common report, he possessed seven hundred well filled granaries. Jagaḍū smilingly replied that he possessed no grain of his own, and that the king could easily convince himself of the truth of this

statement, if he would send for the copper plates, hidden in the bricks of the granaries. The bricks were fetched and broken up. On the copperplates there was a writing which was 'Jagaḍū stored this grain for the sake of the poor'. The merchant then declared that it would be his sin, if the people died of starvation, and he gave eight thousand  $m\bar{u}taka$ s of grain to Vīsaladeva''. Someśvara and other poets of Vīsaladeva's court praised him a lot for his generosity. He also sent grains to other princes. He gave 12000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s to Hamīra, the ruler of Sindh; 18000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s to the king Madanavarman of Avanti; 21000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s to the lord of Delhi, 32000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s to Pratāpasimha of Kāśī; to king Skandjila, who was framed as an emperor 12000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s. He also opened 112 alms-houses for serving the famine stricken people for three years. He expended altogether 999,000  $m\bar{u}taka$ s of grain and 180 millions of money. (Canto VI).

The monk Paramadeva died soon after the famine was over. Jagaḍū mourned for him when he heard the news. Thereafter he went for the second pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Girnar. He also gave rich gifts to the people. After his return he was again summoned to the court of Vīsaladeva and there he received a lavish hospitality. An incident took place there which is described like this: 'A ship with horses belonging to the king, went ashore and was wrecked near Bhadreshwar at the beginning of the monsoon. Twenty animals were drowned, and only one reached the shore in safety. Nāgaḍa at once claimed it as royal property. But Jagaḍū opposed him and declared that the horse was his property. Against this Nāgaḍa offered a bet, promising to give twenty other horses, if Jagaḍū could prove his assertion. Jagaḍū agreed and drew from the neck of the animal a paper, covered with skin, on which his name was written. He then explained to the minister that the god of the ocean had promised never to retain any property of his. He also let Nāgaḍa off his bet, begging only for the continuation of his friendship'.

Śrīsena, the pupil of Paramadeva, obtained now his master's place. He also gave a proof of his supernatural power and divine knowledge. Jagaḍū greatly wondered and rejoiced at the great works and pilgrimages by his advice. After few days of listening to Śrīsena's exposition of the truths of his faith, he died. Hearing the news, the neighbour princes all mourned for him. The king of Delhi (*Garjaneśa*) took off his turban from his head. The Gujarat king Arjuna wept loudly and the king of Sindh did not touch food for two days. Jagaḍū's brothers continued to work in his spirit.

# 3.4. An Overview of the Text Jagaḍūsambandhaḥ from Śubhaśīlagaṇi's Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha

The text of *Jagaḍūsambandhaḥ* is an extract portion from Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha*. It is the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth *Sambandhas* which contain the narrative of Jagaḍū. The text has been prepared by Bühler<sup>325</sup> from the MS. No. 2020 (Weber = MS. Or. Fol.771.) of the Berlin Library. The discoverer of the text was Dr. J. Klatt who sent a transcript in Roman characters to Bühler. The book is in the complete form now by the publishers of Forgotten Books.<sup>326</sup>

The following text is edited from this single printed MS. by Bühler. While editing, comments has been made in the footnote to show the suggested readings or other grammatical or orthographical errors.

#### 3.5. Text of Jagadūsambandhah from Śubhaśīlagaņi's Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha

भद्रेश्वरपुरे वेलाकूले श्रीमालज्ञातीयजगडूसाधुर्वसति। स च जलस्थलव्यवसायं करोति स्म। एकदा जगडूवणिजो यानपात्रं वस्तुभिर्भृत्वा हरीमजद्वीपे गतः। तत्र वक्खारिका गृहीता। वस्तु उत्तारितम्। क्रयविक्रये कर्तुंलग्रः। तत्र च बहवो वक्खारिका<sup>327</sup> सन्ति। एकदा द्वयोर्वक्खारिकयोरन्तरे महान्प्रस्तरो निर्ययौ। स च विहः किषतोन्तराले स्थापितः। तस्योपर्युपविञ्ञतो द्वाविप विणिजौ। क्रमाद्विवादो जातः। एकः कथयित मदीयः। अपरोपि विक्त मदीयोयम्। एवं विवादे जाते राजपार्श्वे गत्वापरेण विणाजा सहस्रत्रयं टङ्ककानां मूल्यं कृतम्। जगडूविणजा बहु धनं दत्त्वा स प्रस्तरो गृहीतो यामे क्षिप्तः। यानपात्रं चिलतम्। भद्रेश्वरौधकण्ठे समागतं यावतावदेकेन नरेण जगडूपार्श्वे प्रोक्तम्। भवतो वाणिजकः प्रचुरं धनमुपार्ज्यागतः। वर्य एको महान्पाषाण आनीतोस्ति। तेन गेहमिप भरिष्यते। इति हास्येनोक्ते जगडूः प्राह। विणजो यदि वर्ज्यं चावर्ज्यं चानयन्ति तच्क्क्रेष्ठिनःप्रमाणमेव। यादृशं भाग्यं धनिकस्य तादृगेव वस्त्वायाति लाभोपि तादृकचैव भवति। अत्र विचारो न क्रियते। ततो जगडूः समुद्रतीरे तस्य संमुखं गत्वा सन्महं विवार्यं चृत्वस्य कृतमतेन। मम महत्वं रिक्षतमनेन। ततो गृहस्याङ्गणे मुक्तः प्रस्तरः। यदा जगडूः प्रस्तरस्योदृर्ध्वमुपविञ्चति तदा चिन्तयित। पृथिवीं

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> *Indian Studies*, No. I, pp. 68-74.

<sup>326</sup> https://www.amazon.in/Pancacati-Prabodhasambandhah-Cinquecento-Novelle-Antiche-Cubhacila-Gani/dp/024394103X

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Gujarati वखार means 'a warehouse'. in Hemachandra's Deśī Nāmamālā वक्खारयं रइघरे.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> महं is the usual abbreviation for महत्तर, possibly the modern मेहेता.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> In the sense of overwhelmed.

धनार्पणात्सुखिनी करोमि। ततो गुरूपार्श्वे प्रस्तरस्वरूपं प्रोक्तम्। प्रस्तरमध्ये किमपि वर्यं विद्यते। ततो विदार्य प्रस्तरो विलोकित:। सपादलक्ष्यमूल्यानि रत्नानि निर्गतानि। बह्वी लक्ष्मीर्जाता। इति प्रस्तररत्नप्राप्तिजगडुसंबन्ध:॥

भद्रेश्वरे भाडलभूपो राज्यं चक्रे। पत्तने वीसलराज्ञः सेवां करोति। सोलगश्रेष्ठिनः श्रेष्ठिनः। श्रीदेवी पत्नी पुत्रा राजजगडूपद्मराजम**ल्ला**ह्या बभूवुः। जगडूसाधुः समुद्रतीरे हट्टं मण्डयामस<sup>330</sup>। एकदा जगडुपार्श्वे यानपात्रिकाः समुद्रस्तेना आगताः। तैः प्रोक्तम्। यानं मदनभृतं चटितमस्ति। यदि भवतो रोचते तदा धनं दत्त्वा ग्राह्यम्। तदा जगड्गृहे समेता जगड्कर्मकरा जगड्रपत्न्याः पूरः प्रोचुः। जगडूसाधुना मदनं गृहीतं कुत्रोत्तर्यते। जगडूपत्नी प्राह। अस्माकं गृहे मदनं पाका गृहाङ्गणे लिम्बवृक्षस्याध<sup>331</sup> उत्तारिता:। जगड्र: पत्न्या समं कलहं चक्रे। हक्किता वक्ति। मदनव्यवसाये बहु पापं लगति। ततो मिथ:कलिं कृत्वा रूष्टौ। जगडू: प्रियां न जल्पयति। पत्नी जगडूं न जल्पयति। एवं मासत्रये जाते शीतकालः समागतः। जगडूपुत्रेणाङ्गीष्टिकं कृतम्। तत्र तृणादीनि क्षिपति तापनार्थम्। इतो बालचापल्यादेकां मदनेष्टिकामङ्गीष्टके चिक्षेप। मदनं गलितम्। सुवर्णमयीष्टिका दृष्ट्वा पत्न्या। पत्न्यजल्पन्त्यपि धनलोभाज्जगडूं प्रति प्राह। इतो विलोक्यताम्। ततो जगडू: संमुखमपि रूष्टो न विलोकयति। ततः पत्न्योक्तम्। आत्मनो मदनेष्टिका स्वर्णेष्टिका जाता। ततः संमुखं यावद्विलोकयति तावत्स्वर्णेष्टिका दृष्ट्वा। ततोन्यासामिष्टिकानां परीक्षा कृता। स्वर्णेष्टिका ज्ञाताः। ततश्क्कन्नं सर्वाः स्वर्णेष्टिका गृहमध्य अनीताः। मदनं पृथक् कृत्वा विक्रीतम्। पञ्चशतप्रमाणाः स्वर्णेष्टिका जाताः। ततः पत्नी पतिं प्राह । गुरव आकार्यन्ते। गुरूक्ते धर्मे धनं व्यय्येत धनं शाश्वतं न भवति। ततो गुरुव आकारिताः सुमहोत्सवपूर्वम्। गुरवो मदनव्यवसायं कृतं जगडूसाधुना श्रुत्वा जगडूगृहे विहर्तुं न याचिता:। ततो गुरव: प्रोचु:। अस्माभिश्चल्यते। ततो गुरवो देववन्दनार्थं क्षुल्लकयुता आकारिताः। गुरवो गृहे देवान्वन्दित। तदा क्षुक्रकः प्राह। भगवन् जगडूगृहे किं लङ्का समागता। इतो वीक्ष्यताम्। ततो गुरुभिः स्वर्णेष्टिका दृष्ट्वा जगड्रः पृष्टः। कास्ताः स्वर्णेष्टिकाः। जगडूः प्राहेष्ठिकाग्रहणसंबन्धं सर्वम्। ततो गुरवो दृष्ट्वा जगडूसाधुना विहारिताः स्व उपाश्रय आगताः। ततो जगड्रः प्राह। मया मदनभ्रान्त्येष्टिका गृहीताः। जाताः स्वर्णमयी। उच्चैर्न जल्प्यते राजभयात्। टङ्कानां कोटिर्जाता जगडूगृहे॥

## इति स्वर्णेष्टिकाप्राप्तिजगडूसंबन्धः॥

एकदा गुरुभिः संवत् 1315, 1316. 1317 वर्षत्रये भावि दुर्भिक्षं ज्ञातम्। ततो भाषासमित्या जगडूसाधुर्ज्ञापितः। ततो जगडुसाधुर्ग्रामे ग्रामे पुरे पुरे वणिकपुत्रान्

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> This is Gujarati मांड्यो "bagan to make"

धान्यमटूकलक्षप्रमाणान्संग्राहयामास। ततस्तिस्मिन्दुःकाले समागते 112 महासत्त्रागारा मण्डिताः। तेषु मनुष्यसहस्रदशपञ्चाशिक्तमिन्ति। राजानः सीदन्तोभवन्धान्यं विना। अष्टौ मूढकसहस्राणि वीसलदेवस्य राज्ञः पत्तनस्वामिनो ददौ द्वादश मूढकसहस्रान्हम्मीरभूपस्यार्पितवान्। इतो गाजनीसुरत्राणो जगडूसाधुसमीपे धान्यं याचितुमागतः। तदा जगडूः संमुखं गतः। सुरत्राणेनोक्तम्। तुं कोण। जगडूः प्राह। हुं जगडू। ततः सुरत्राणः प्राह। न्यायेन त्वं जगत्पिता यतस्त्वया दानात् [सर्वलोकजीवितं रक्षितम्] ततो धान्यं याचितं सुरत्राणेन। जगडूः प्राह। अहं पश्चाद्यास्यामि रङ्कनिमित्तं धान्यं न गृहीष्ये। ततो जगडूरस्य रङ्कनिमित्तव्यतिरिक्त-एकविंशतिमूढकसहस्रमितं धान्यं सुरत्राणाय ददौ।

अट्टय मूढसहस्सा वीसलरायस्य बार हम्मीरा। इगवीस सुरत्राणे तहं दिणा जगडु दुब्भिक्खे॥ दानसाल जगडूतणी केती हुई संसारि। नउ करवाली मणिअ जे तेहिं अग्गल विआरि॥

सत्त्रागारे पत्तनपार्श्वस्थे राजा वीसलो गतः। तत्र मनुष्यान्विंशतिसहस्रमिताञ्जिमतो दृष्ट्वा राजा जगडुसाधुं प्रति प्राह। अन्नं नवात्रास्तु। घृतं मम परिवेष्यताम्। तथा कृते घृते निष्ठिते राज्ञा वीसलराज्ञा तैलं पर्यवेष्यत। पुरा जगडूः स्वस्मिन्सन्त्रागारे घृतं पर्यवेषयत्। ततो न्यदा राजा जगडूपार्श्वाज्जीजीकारयन्। श्रुत्वा चारणः प्राह।

वीसल तु विरूअ करइं जगडू कहावह जी।

तुं न मावदं फालयं सुं उअ न मावइ घी॥

ततो जगडूसाधुः 108 जिनप्रासादन्कारयामास। श्रीशत्रुंजये सविस्तरायात्रात्रायं चकार वर्षमध्ये साधर्मिकवात्सल्याष्टकं संघार्चाष्टकम्। अनेके दीनदुःस्था उद्धरिता धान्यदानात्। इति जगडूसाधुसंबन्धः"॥

## 3.6. Summary of the Text Jagaḍūsambandhaḥ from Śubhaśīlagaṇi's Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha

In Bhadreshwar ruled king Bhāḍala; he served king Vīsala in Pattana (Aṇhilvāḍ). Solaga was the Seth (in Bhadreshwar), his wife was Śrīdevī, his sons were called Rāja, Jagaḍū, Padmarāja and Malla, or, Padma and Rājamalla. The trader Jagaḍū built a market on the shore of the ocean. Once, seafaring pirates came to Jagaḍū. They said, "A ship laden with wax has fallen into our hands; if it pleases you, take it against payment." Then Jagaḍū went there and purchased the ship laden with beeswax. Jagaḍū's workmen filled the carts, went to his house and said to his wife, "The banker Jagaḍū has bought beeswax; where is it to

be unloaded?" Jagaḍū's wife answered, "Wax, a cause of sin, is not unloaded in our house," and did not allow it to be unloaded. Then they laid down the wax bricks in the courtyard. Jagadū quarrelled with his wife. When she was loudly scolded, she said, "Great sin clings to the traffic in beeswax." Then those two were angry with each other after their quarrel. Jagadū did not talk to his wife, and the wife did not talk to Jagadū. When three months had passed in this manner, the cold season came. Then Jagadū's son made a fireplace of bricks (in order to roast green ears of corn). In order to heat it, he threw on dry grass and the like. With the playfulness of childhood he also put a brick of beeswax on the fireplace. The wax melted, and (Jagadū's) wife saw a brick of gold. Though she was not on speaking terms with her husband, she said to him, being greedy of wealth: "Look here!" Jagaḍū, who was still angry, did not look towards her. Then the wife said, "One of our wax bricks has been turned into a brick of gold." When, thereupon, he looked towards her, he saw the golden brick. He, then, examined the other bricks, and they turned out to be gold. Then he took all the golden bricks secretly into his house, separated the wax and sold it. The golden bricks were five hundred in number. Then the wife said to her husband, "Invite our spiritual director and expend the money on such meritorious works as he may indicate. Wealth is not eternal." Then the spiritual director was invited, and a great festival was made on his arrival. But, when the spiritual director heard that the banker Jagaḍū had traded in beeswax, he did not agree to visit Jagadū s house. He then said, "I go". Thereupon he was invited together with his pupil to worship the deities, and he worshipped the deities in the house. Then his pupil said, "Worshipful one, has Lanka come into the house of Jagadū? Look here!" Then the spiritual director saw the golden bricks and asked Jagadū, "What about those golden bricks?" Jagaḍū then told him the whole story, how he obtained the bricks. The spiritual director rejoiced, consented to be invited by the banker Jagadū and went into his monastery. Then Jagadū said, "I took the bricks, mistaking them for beeswax, but they turned out to be gold. Through fear of the king, I do not say it loudly." Ten millions of *Ṭankās* thus came into Jagaḍū's house."

Finally, the twentieth *sambandha* gives a description of Jagaḍū's liberality during the great famine which afflicted Gujarat and the whole of India in the reign of Vīsaladeva. The date of the famine is put a little later, and it is said to have happened during the years Vikrama Samvat 1315-1317. The store of grain, which Jagaḍū accumulated and expended, amounted, according to Śubhaśīla, not to 999,000 *mūṭakas*, but only to 100,000. The number of his alms houses, one hundred and twelve, agrees with that mentioned in the Charita, and it is added that 500,000 men were fed in them. The presents of grain, which Jagaḍū made to Vīsaladeva, Hammira and to the *Suratrāṇa* of Gajanī, i.e., the Sultan of

Delhi, are likewise stated on the authority of a Prakrit Gāthā, and their amounts agree exactly with those mentioned in the *Carita*. But, there is an absurd addition, according to which tlie Sultan paid a visit to Jagaḍū and asked for grain. And it is further asserted that the Sultan saw in Jagaḍū's storehouse the inscription which stated that the grain belonged to the poor. Though lie, there upon, refused to take it, yet Jagadu was able to give him 21,000 Mūṭas, which were in excess of the allotment for the needy. The *Sanibandha* concludes with an anecdote regarding a visit which Vīsaladeva paid to Jagaḍū's almshouse in Pattana Aṇhilvāḍ. He saw there 20,000 persons who were being fed. Pleased with the charity, he insisted on furnishing the necessary  $Gh\bar{\iota}$ . But his store soon ran out and he had to substitute oil. When afterwards he made Jagaḍū say jī jī, i.e. make his obeisance, he was reproved by a bard, who reminded him, reciting a Doha to that effect, how much more worthy Jagaḍū was of reverence than the king himself. Finally Śubhaśīla adds that Jagaḍū built 108 Jaina temples, made three pilgrimages to Satruñjaya, showed in eight ways his kindness to his coreligionists and worshipped the Saṃgha in eight ways.

#### **CHAPTER: 4**

## POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE TEXT

#### 4.1. Introduction

Jagadūcarita, the text under discussion, hints at a transitional trend in the political, religious and social domain of the thirteenth century Gujarat. The *carita* was written by the author to attain fame as a kavi in the Brahmanical society. The poet deliberately chose the mahākāvya style and selected as the hero Jagadū, the famous and generous wealthy merchant of thirteenth century Gujarat. The poet narrates Jagadū's family life along with his ancestors, his struggle to run his maritime trade with the Arab country, his philanthropic deeds for the people of his country in time of distress and his great supportive activities extended to the ruler of his country during the hostile attacks by invaders. Different dimensions of political, social and religious history including some maritime history of the concerned period can be explored from Sarvānanda's description. Attempt has been also made here to analyse the information to form an idea about the influence of trade and traders on the politics, religion and society. Thus the text may be relocated in these specific areas. Also, the text displays an extraordinary content reflecting interaction and mutual regard between traders and rulers beyond bare business relations, religious affiliations as well as political loyalties. One is also fascinated to find here the mercantile ethos and coexistence of different religions regulating the political, social and religious trend of Gujarat at this time. This text contains ample illustrations that establish its worth as a source for reconstructing the history of that period with fairly all essential elements.

#### 4.2. Political Importance of the Text

#### 4.2.1. The Geographical setting of Kutch

Kutch finds incidental reference in the text of Jagaḍūcarita by Sarvāṇanda. The geographical location of Kutch needs to be discussed first before we enter into the main discussion about another aspect of political importance of the text. Kutch is a district of Gujarat. Gujarat does not owe less to its structure, but it owes much of its complex culture to its position. Geographically, there are two divisions of Gujarat, namely, Coastal and Peninsular. At present, Kutch, the largest district of India has a geographically unique position in the map of India. Kutch, literally means something which recurrently becomes wet and dry and in Sanskrit origin, the word is also used for a tortoise. The Gulf of Kutch

and the Arabian Sea to the south and west surround the Kutch district. A shallow wetland which remains submerged in water during the rainy season and becomes dry in other seasons is known as the Rann of Kutch.<sup>1</sup>

Kathiawar is a peninsula and it is situated in the west coast of India, bordering the Arabian Sea. The Gulf of Kutch and the Gulf of Cambay enfold its north-western and eastern boundaries respectively. It is connected to the rest of Gujarat in the north-east and borders on the low, fertile hinterland of Ahmedabad.<sup>2</sup> Kathiawar is known to be a very famous port from ancient time.

The idea of Gujarat as a name of the region is pre-modern. Traditionally, the region Gurjaradeśa (probably the earliest reference occurs in the eighth-century Apabhraṁśa work *Kuvalayamālā* by the Jain monk Udyota sūrī.<sup>3</sup>) was consisted of three divisions: Ānartta, Lāṭa and Saurāṣṭra. Ānartta corresponds to modern northern Gujarat and the Lāṭa roughly covered the present southern Gujarat from the Māhī to Tāptī and perhaps to a little further south. After the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, the mention of Lāṭa is frequent in the inscriptions<sup>4</sup> and literature. Modern Kathiawar is denoted by Saurāṣṭra. The southern part of Saurāṣṭra is known as Sorath (modern Surat). We find the earliest mention of it in Pāṇini's *Gaṇapāṭha* and later in the *Mahābhārata*, inscriptions and in the accounts of the Greek merchants and Geographers.<sup>5</sup>

Bhadreshwar is located in Kutch district, on the north-east of the Gulf of Kutch. Bhadreshwar is the site of the ancient city of Bhadravati. It has been known since the mediaeval period. The city is situated very near to the sea coast (over one kilometer north), 20 kilometers north-east of Mundra Taluka and 36 kilometers east of Mandvi.<sup>6</sup> The first available mention about the city of Bhadrāvati is in Bantvijaya Chronicle. It is told there that the city was established on the 5<sup>th</sup> of Caitra Suddh. Thursday, in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the Mahavira era (c. 516 BCE) and this wealthy port served as the capital of a state with 97 towns in its territory. Undoubtedly, the date mentioned here is an assumed date and the source too is not very reliable, but undeniably it is a very ancient origin of the city. The mention about this ancient site occurs also in the *Mahābhārata*, which speaks that in the Bhadrāvati city, the sacrificial horse of Yudhisthira's aśvamedha was found. The location of the city is mentioned there as beyond Hasināpura and far from Himalayas. The city of our discussion may be similar to this description of Mahābhārata's Bhadrāvati. Several Islamic historians have also recorded the fact that Kutch is the only district of India known from the ancient time to have an excellent breed of horses of Arabian race. As a port of the Kutch, Bhadrāvati could have possibilities to have Arabian horses. Also this horse

connection may be comparable in origin to the *Mahābhāra* story. Ptolemy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and Al-Birūnī in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE also refer to the city. Ptolemy has mentioned it as Bardaxena and Al-Birūnī describes it as Bhadra along with Kutch, which is likely to be Bhadravāti. Al-Birūnī has referred Bhadra as a state, not as a city, which is interestingly comparable to the information of *Bantvijaya Chronicle* that from the very ancient time to the mediaeval period the city was an independent state.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.2.2. Jagadū, the Merchant

Jagaḍū or Jagadeva, a famous and wealthy Jain merchant of Bhadreshwar did not hold any higher administrative position under the Caulukya rule. Primarily, he was a merchant and his main activity of concern was trade. Therefore, the Gujarat Chronicles ascribed to Jagaḍū devote a large portion to his trading activities and his wealthy position among the merchant community. Jagaḍū was fabulously wealthy and familiar as a pious and generous layman in the Jain community. Gujarat witnessed various political encounters with the neighbouring powers as well as the foreign invaders during this time. Jagaḍū endeavored to protect his land against foreign attacks. But he did not hold any administrative position like Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla in the Caulukya administration as far as is known from the text of Jagadūcarita of Sarvāṇanda.

Vastupāla and Tejahpāla were also two famous Jain brother merchants during the Caulukya period. We come to know from their biographical accounts and inscriptional evidences that they held important administrative positions as ministers under the rule of Caulukya kings Lavaņaprasāda and Vīradhavala. They also played critical roles in the political and economic consolidation of the kingdom. The narratives about these minister merchant brothers are often hagiographic and full of exaggerations. But we can extract the historical information about their activities from such accounts to establish their political position as indispensable persons in the Caulukya realm at the said time. These two brothers hailed from a merchant family of Patan and their ancestors also held ministerial positions. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the two merchant ministers have a record of creating a congenial atmosphere for traders by putting an end to the terror called pirates and extending Gujarat's eastern borders to make the trade routes safe and secure. They helped boost the state economy by recovering arrears of revenue from recalcitrant officials. Vastupāla was appointed governor of Cambay after serving as chief minister at the court of the Vāghelā ruler Lavanaprasada and his brother Tejahpala succeeded him after his death and continued to manage his financial affairs of the state with great competence. 9 But unlike these two

brothers Jagaḍū was not a minister or Caulukya kingdom. Other accounts about him also does not provide any information that he directly served the Caulukya kingdom in any official capacity. M. Shokoohy<sup>10</sup> has, however, argued that Jagaḍū governed the city of Bhadreshwar being authorized by a royal charter of the Caulukyas after he managed to resist the attack of Pīṭhadeva, the Sumra chief. It is not known that how much power he enjoyed while governing the city, but it is sure that he had played an important role in saving his city in any situation of emergency. Being a simple merchant, he provided all kinds of support to his native town during the political turmoil. What remains after removing the fictitious and the poetical exaggerations found in the *Jagaḍūcarita* regarding Jagaḍū's political activities, deserves special attention. We are fortunate to have incidental references in other sources to political situation of the time under scanner that helps us verify and reconstruct the history of Caulukya kingdom of that time and thus enable us to relocate the text of *Jagaḍūcarita* in the sphere of such illuminating original sources.

#### 4.2.3. The Caulukya Dynasty during Jagaḍū's Time

Jagadū belonged to a family of Śrīmāla Vanias who resided at north Kutch as per Sarvānanda's text.<sup>11</sup> But Jagaḍū's father Solaka migrated to Bhadreshwar in Kutch. Gradually Jagadū became a capable and successful merchant after his father's death. He acquired fabulous wealth by sea trade and managed to materially increase the inherited fortune of the family and to secure for himself and his brothers a prominent position in the mercantile community of his town, Bhadreshwar, which was then, and had been for a long time an important harbour belonging to the dominions of Caulukyas. The Caulukya rule (middle10<sup>th</sup> to early 14<sup>th</sup> century) is invariably held synonymous with the great glories of Gujarat. The Caulukyas came into the prominence in the Northern Gujarat, basically the Saraswati valley, after the decline of the Imperial Gurjara Pratihāras. The Caulukya dynasty was established by Mūlarāja I in 940 CE with its capital at Aņahilapāṭaka. They played a very important role in the early mediaeval history of India as Jayasimha Siddharāja (1093-1143 CE) and Kumārapāla (1143-1172 CE), the two great rulers of this dynasty, achieved the ideal of imperial unity and western India became the centre of political gravity of this time. The Caulukya dynasty was politically in a complex situation during Jagaḍū's time. The main line of the Caulukyas has changed its path during the rule of Bhīmadeva II (1178-1241 CE) and the Vāghelā rulers, who also called themselves Caulukyas, came into power with the help of Lavanaprāsada, the son of Aronarāja. Aronarāja served the Caulukya Kingdom as a sāmanata from the time of Kumārapāla and he showed his valour and loyalty

as a part of the army of the king Bhīmadeva II. Lavaņaprāsada continued to render faithful services after his father's death to the king and was able to gain a feudatory status (Mahāmandaleśvara and Rānaka) as Dhavalkka or Dholka his fief. 12 Gujarat was invaded several times by the foreign aggressors during Bhīmadeva II's reign and Lavaṇaprāsada and his son Vīradhavala played a vital role in resisting the attacks. The internal troubles and the conflict with the neighbouring provinces continued through the second half of the reign of Bhīmadeva II. The provincial governors' revolt took place immediately after the death of Mūlarāja II. There was also the repeated aggressions of the neighbouring powers like the Yādavas, the Paramāras and Chāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja against Bhīmadeva II. The Vāghelās always stood faithful to Bhīmadeva II and fought for him. Aroṇarāja, the father of Lavanaprasāda died while fighting the rebel provincial governors. Lavanaprasāda helped to save the kingdom from the Yādavas and the Paramāras also freed the capital from Muslim occupation and the userper who may probably be identified with Jayantasimha.<sup>13</sup> Lavanaprasāda's son Vīradhavala reoccupied Cambay and as a reward of their loyalty, Bhīma endowed them with virtually unlimited power. Bühler<sup>14</sup> holds Bhīmadeva II as the nominal ruler as his power was circumscribed by his rājyacintākārins, Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala. After Bhīma II, his legal heir Tribhuvanapāla came to the throne. But Tribhuvanapāla reigned for a very short period and after his death, the line of Bhīmadeva II got extinct and the line of Vāghelā kings (though they called them Caulukyas) started.

Jagadūcarita mentions that Jagadū sought help from the illustrious king Lavaṇaprasāda and he went to Aṇahilapāṭaka to withstand the attack of Pīṭhadeva in Bhadreshwar. Lavaṇaprasāda sent an army by the help of which, Jagadū defeated Pīṭhadeva. Bühler has mentioned that the attack did not commence before 1237 CE which means Bhīmadeva II's reign was continuing at that time. But Jagadū went for help to Lavaṇaprasāda. It again confirms that Bhīma II was the nominal king and the actual power and important decisions lay in the hands of the Vāghelā king Lavaṇaprasāda. More interestingly, the text produces another information that Aṇahilapāṭaka, which continued to be the capital from the time of Mularāja I, was governed by Lavaṇaprasāda though the king Bhīmadeva II was in power that time. It has already been mentioned that Bhīmadeva II was a nominal king and many chronicles corroborate this matter. But Jagadūcarita shows us that Lavaṇaprasāda governed from the Aṇahilapāṭaka. The rising power of Vāghelā king Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala has been expressly described in this text. It bestows the text with significant political importance.

#### 4.2.4. The Caulukya Kings Kumārapāla and Mūlarāja

It is mentioned in the text<sup>16</sup> that in this town, Jagaḍū built many temples, images and also a well or *vāpikā* in connection with the two tanks dug by Kumāra and Mūlarāja. These two persons mentioned here are undoubtedly the Caulukya kings of Gujarat. The name Kumāra mentioned in the text refer to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla (c.1142-1171 CE.). Only the abbreviated name Kumāra is mentioned in the *śloka*<sup>17</sup> for the sake of the metre. Another king mentioned with Kumāra is Mūlarāja. There were two kings in the name of Mūlarāja in this Caulukya lineage. The first one is the famous founder of the dynasty who ruled from c.940 to 995 CE, whom the historians call Mūlarāja I and another is Mūlarāja II (c.1174-1177 CE.), the son of Ajayapāla of Caulukya dynasty.

Kumārapāla succeeded Jayasimha Siddharāja from the collateral line as Jayasimha had no child. Kumārapāla was very famous among the Jains and it is remarkable that the largest number of chronicles have been written about him among all the ancient and mediaeval Indian kings. There are almost half a dozen chronicles attributed to him. To cite a few, the famous dvyāśraya kāvya (partially in Sanskrit and partially in Prakrit), Kumārapālacarita composed by Hemachandra (1088-1172 CE.), the Prakrit book Kumārapālapratibondho by Somaprabha (twelfth century), the Kumārapālabhūpālacarita composed by Jayasimha Sūri II (thirteenth century), the Kirtikaumudī by Someśara (1179-1262 CE.) etc. From the chronicles and inscriptions, <sup>18</sup> it is known that Kumārapāla pushed the limits of Caulukya power more extensively than his predecessor. He fought with Arnorāja, the Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja IV, the Paramāras of Abu, the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula, the Paramāras of Kiradu, Mallikārjuna of Konkana, the kings of Saurastra and Dahala to mention a few. As the result of these wars Kumārapāla's empire extended from Chitor to Jaisalmere in the north, in the south the Vindhya and at least as far as the river Tapti, in the west Saurastra and Kutch and in the east up to Bhilsa.<sup>19</sup> So, it is certain that Bhadreśwar, the city of Kutch was under Kumārapāla's control and he dug a tank for the welfare of his countrymen. Kumārapāla was a great protagonist of Jainism. He chose to be converted to Jainism probably through the influence of the preachings of Hemachandra and he did a lot of work for public welfare in his country. The king was also engaged in philanthropic deeds beside religious activities. One of his significant benevolent activities was digging a tank in the city of Bhadreshwar for public use.

Another king named Mūlarāja, deserves attention, and as told earlier, two kings were associated with the same name. The king mentioned in the text of *Jagadūcarita* is Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukya kingdom and this has been determined by Bühler. According to him, Mūlarāja II, the son of Ajayapāla, who succeeded his father as a minor and reigned for a very short duration (c.1174-1178 CE.), cannot be considered being able to dig a tank as the condition of the kingdom during his time was very unstable. The invasion of Muhammad Ghori took place during this time and Mūlarāja II's only focus was to resist the attack of Ghori to protect his country. Muhammad Ghori led his first expedition into India in 1175 CE and captured Multan and Uch, two important bases in Indian subcontinent. After that, he turned sharply south towards southern Rajputana and Gujarat to secure his line of communications with Ghazni to strengthen his power in India. But his defeat by Mūlarāja in 1178 CE compelled him to go back. Ghori then changed the plan and again entered India through the Khyber Pass. So, engaged to resist the attack of Ghori, Mūlarāja II had no time to attend to the needs of a distant provincial town, considering the very short time of his rule.

Another possibility is Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukya kingdom(940-995 CE) may be the king who dug a tank in Bhadreshwar. He reigned for a longer period during which he was engaged in invasion of nearby area effecting the extension of his territorial boundaries. He was also concerned about the plight of his countrymen and tried to relieve them of their problems. The area of Kutch was not appended to his kingdom previously. His invasion of Kutch along with Saurastra is described by Hemachandra and also other chroniclers.<sup>21</sup> As a result of this attack Bhadreshwar, the city of Kutch was included in Mūlarāja I's kingdom and possibly, a tank was dug for people's welfare. The king Mūlarāja I's public welfare activities have been described in the inscription namely Sridhara's Devapattana Praśasti.<sup>22</sup> In this inscription verses 7 and 8 refer to Udayabhatta, the *Joshi* or court-astrologer of the Caulukya king Mūlarāja I. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha whom the king appointed for the supervision of his charities and commissioned them to look after the digging of wells and tanks as well as the construction of places of refuge, colleges, temples, markets, alms-houses, villages, drinking fountains and halls.<sup>23</sup> These facts also suggest the identity of Caulukya king Mūlarāja I with the Mūlarāja under scanner.

The above discussion about the kings Mūlarāja I and Kumārapāla, throws some light on the political importance of the text, *Jagaḍūcarita*. First of all, the king Mūlarāja I

ruled over the extreme east of the Kutch and the city Bhadreshwar was an important place where he decided to dig a tank probably for boosting water supply of the area. The inhabitants of the city needed another tank after 200 years probably to meet the demand of the increased population in later time. So king Kumārapāla dug another tank in the city. It is also proved that the Kutch area continued to be under the Caulukya rule till the time of Kumārapāla from the time it was owned by Mūlarāja I. Jagaḍū caused to be made a square well in connection with these two tanks. It is assumed that the two tanks were adjacent and the inhabitants of the city needed a well for the daily use of water which was fulfilled by Jagaḍū.

### 4.2.5. The Caulukya King Bhīmadeva

The mention about the king Bhīmadeva of Caulukya race throws some light in the discourse of political importance of the text Jagadūcarita. The verses 4 and 28 of fifth sarga inform that Bhīmadeva, the chief ornament of the Caulukya race, built the rampart of Bhadreshwar and the walls of Bhadreshwar's town, which was destroyed by Pīthadeva, the Sumra chief. There were also two kings with the name of Bhīmadeva in the Caulukya lineage. One was the nephew of the king Durlabha and the son of Nagaraja. Durlabharaja (c.1009-1023 CE) had crowned his nephew Bhīma (c.1023-1065 CE) as he was childless. The second one is Bhīmadeva II (c. 1178-1241 CE), who reigned for a long period of time but he was a nominal ruler as the Vāghelās gradually came into the prominence in the last portion of his rule. Any chronicles, inscriptions of contemporary time do not mention about the building of the rampart and the walls of the town Bhadreshwar by any of these two kings. Our present text of discussion has mentioned this incident and we have to find out the fact that by whom this rampart and the wall was built. Bühler has considered that Bhīma I was the king who had built the walls of Bhadreshwar town. As the Gujarat Jaina chronicles have maintained the practice to hardly mention about the nominal king Bhīma II, instead of that, those chronicles have mentioned the Rājachintakārina Vāghelās Lavanaprasada and later on his son Vīradhabala. If Bhīma II was the king to be caused for the building of the walls, the poet surely would have ascribed them to Lavanaprasada or his son Vīradhabala, not Bhīmadeva. The chronicles and inscriptions have also followed the same pattern in this regard. So, Bühler has the view to go for the credit of the fortification of Bhadreshwar town to Bhīma I, not to Bhīmadeva II.

We can produce here another reference of a land grant<sup>24</sup> of 1029 CE of Bhīmadeva I, which proves the connection of him to Kutch. The land grant talks about the granted

object, the village of Masūra, situated in the Dvadaśa of Ghadahadivā in Kutch and the grantee is the Bhattaraka Ajaypala, the son of Acharya Mangalasiva. The area of Bhadreshwar and the lower Kutch region was acquired by Bhīmadeva I. It may be assumed that possibly he fortified the town with walls as there was the necessity of the security of the western frontier of the Caulukya kingdom. The position of Bhadreshwar is quite sensitive as it is located very near of the seashore and it faces the foreign attacks very firstly for its exposed border. Bhīma was faced the invasion of Sultān Mahmūd very soon after his accssion. Mahmūd entered the Anahilapātaka, the capital of Bhīma and then Modhera. Later in the year 1026 CE, Mahmūd plundered the Somanath. After Mahmūd returned to Ghazni, Bhīma started to regain his power and defeated the king of Sind and he also re conquest the Abu. He fought against the Paramāras of Bhinmal and Mālava and also with the Chāhamanas of Naddula. It may be inferred that the failure of resistance against the attack of Mahmūd teaches Bhīma to build rampart and walls in the frontier region and also the wars he fought during his reign inspire him to take the arrangements to protect his region more effectively. After Mahmūd's depart, Bhīma was more mature than ever to fight the battles of his rest reign. So it will be not wrongly said that Bhīmadeva I built the rampart and the walls in Bhadreshwar. The text Jagadūcarita states that Pīthadeva (c.1031 CE) destroys the walls and if we consider that Bhīmadeva II (c.1178-1241 CE) had built these, the period is too short to ruin it. Thus, the text Jagadūcarita could be relocated as an important text by critically examining the different incidental mention of events from the angle of political importance of Gujarat of thirteenth century CE.

#### 4.2.6. The Episode of Pīthadeva

The text *Jagadūcarita* narrates the incursion of Pīṭhadeva, who, having destroyed the whole country of Kutch occupied Bhadreshwar for some time. This Pīṭhadeva, the Sūmrā chief of Pāra or Pārkar made a hostile attack into Kutch in the first half of the thirteenth century. He devastated the whole province and destroyed the fortifications of Bhadreshwar. He returned to his country Pāra after this hostile attack, after which Jagaḍū the merchant, as a prominent citizen, took an initiative to rebuild the walls of his native town in order to secure it against further attacks. He went to seek help from Lavaṇaprasāda in Aṇahilapāṭaka to avoid the obstruction from Pīṭhadeva through his messenger and finally Pīṭhadeva beat a retreat from Kutch with a resistance put by the force sent by Lavaṇaprasāda and the local people of Bhadreshwar. This incident augmented the political power of Jagaḍū.

Pīṭhadeva is identified by Bühler<sup>25</sup> without doubt with the Sūmrā chief, variously known as Pitthū, Phatū by the 'Muslim' (better called Turkish and Afgan) historians. The account of Pīṭhadeva provides a very remarkable incident mentioned in the *Jagaḍūcarita* and the identification of Pīṭhadeva with the Sūmrā chief, furnishes an important historical fact related to Sūmrā dynasty of Sindh. The history of Sūmrās along with the history of Sindh is described in the Arabian and Persian accounts like *Tārīkh-ī-M'ausūmī*, *Tuhfatu-l-Kirām*, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* etc.<sup>26</sup> But we can hardly trace any Indian account which mentions about the Sūmrās. Only *Jagaḍūcarita* is an account where Sūmrās are mentioned. The *Jagaḍūcarita* also confirms the conflicting descriptions of the other accounts and we can relocate the text with a special importance in the sphere of political history of northwestern India of thirteenth century CE.

The country of Pīṭhadeva is Pāra as told by the Jagaḍūcarita. Pāra is identical with the district of Pārkar, which is the peninsula on the north-east side of the Rann of Cutch and it is in the south-east of Sindh, which is now in Pakistan. The historians have unanimously admitted that this portion of Sindh was ruled by the Sūmrā dynasty from the first half of the eleventh century. The foundation of the Sūmrā dynasty seems to have laid by Ibn Sūmar, the ruler of Multan in the year 1032 CE. Before that, Sindh was conquered by Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1026 CE during his last expedition to India and he appointed his minister Abdur Rajai to rule the country. Possibly, the Sūmras were the feudal vassals who paid their tribute to the Gazniviad dynasty and after some years they declared their independence and may have possibly prepared themselves to recognize the designative sovereignty. After six years, Ibn Sūmar was able to capture the sovereign power from the Ghazni family and he governed the Sindh very tactfully. Ibn Sūmar's son Dūdā was the next ruler, who extended his possessions as far as Nasarpur. After three more rulers, Pitthu, the brother of Dūdā was the king of Sūmrā, who attacked Bhadreshwar and got defiance from Jagadū. There is nothing worthy of mention about the other rulers of this dynasty till the reign of Khafif, who is said to have resisted with several incursions of the frontier tribes, such as the Balochis, the Sodhas, and the Jārejā and had made Thata his capital city. This time the Sammā tribe who first came into prominent notice, came from Kutch and started to live in Sindh. From the death of Khafif, the Sūmra dynasty gradually declined. Urrah Mahl, the last of the line was killed by the people of Sammā tribe, and they placed Jam Unar, one of their tribe on the throne of Sindh about 1351 CE.<sup>27</sup>

A much difficult problem to produce a proper dynastic history about the Sūmrā kings is the obscurities and inconsistencies of the native accounts ascribed to them. There

are various opinions regarding the origin and length of rule of this dynasty. <sup>28</sup> The accounts of the Sūmrā kings are conflicting regarding their order of accession, time and the number of kings of the dynasty. Abū-l Fazl has stated in his book  $\bar{A}in$ -i- $\bar{A}kbari$  that there were thirty-six Sūmrā princes and they reigned for five hundred years, whereas the  $T\bar{a}r\bar{i}kh$ -i- $T\bar{a}hiri$  states that, they only reigned for 143 years and many other accounts put the information which are contradictory to each other in describing the name and the lineage of this kingdom. <sup>29</sup> The  $T\bar{a}r\bar{i}kh$ - $\bar{i}$ -M'aus $\bar{u}m\bar{i}$  gives the lineage of the Sūmrā kings as follows: Sūmrā (became the king in 1030 CE)

Bhūngar (son of Sūmrā)

Dūdā (son of Bhūngar)

Tarī (daughter of Dūdā)

Singhār (son of Dūdā)

Hamūn (wife of Singhār)

Pitthu (brother of Dūdā)

Kairā

Armīl

Another record mentions clearly that he is connected with which Dūdā, the son of Bhūngar or the ruler of Dhak. The time of the accession of king Sūmrā is also not correctly put here, because *Tuhfatu-l-Kirām* differ on the point regarding the time of Sūmrā, the very first king of this dynasty was in 1320 CE and one more information is given here that Hemū, the wife of Singhār had appointed her brothers to govern Tūr and Thārī, but Phatū, a descendant of Dūdā, the Sūmrā ruler of Dhak, rebelled and he became the king with the help of a foreign force. The identification of Pahtū is confusing here, because it is not the account has stated that the last king of this dynasty, Armīl was slain by the Sammās in 1351 CE. So, it is quite absurd that near about eight kings reigned only between 1320-1351 CE. The next account, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* has provided a different and longer list of Sūmrā kings with exact date of each reign, which appears to be more correct. Here is the extract list from the account:

Sūmrā (ascended the throne in 1053 CE)

Bhūngar (son of Sūmrā, 1053-1069 CE)

Dūdā I (son of Bhūngar, 1069-1092 CE)

Singhār (ruled 15 years, 1092-1107 CE)

Khafīf (ruled 36 years, 1107-1143 CE)

Umar (reigned 40 years, 1143-1183 CE)

Dūdā II (reigned 14 years, 1183-1197 CE)

Phatū (reigned 33 years, 1197-1230 CE)

Here an attempt has been made on the basis of collation of the lists of kings in various Persian accounts about Sūmrā dynasty to track down the name, time and the activity of Sūmrā king Pīṭhadeva whom the text *Jagaḍūcarita* mentions. The name of Pīṭhadeva corresponds with the Pitthu, Pahtū and Phatū as the Persian accounts mention. The original name of Jagaḍū's enemy was not known to us as different accounts state it differently. Bühler has shown that *Pīṭha*, the Sanskrit term which means 'the Sun' could be the actual name of Jagaḍū's enemy or it may be a bad transliteration of the Prakrit name Piṭṭha. Piṭṭhu is the Sindhī form for both Pita and Piṭṭha. As the *a* stems become *u* in Sindhī. So, Pitthu, Pahtū or Phatū are the words used for Piṭha and *deva* is appended to the name according to the Indian tradition. The Indian lingual are also not very carefully maintained in the Arabic and Persian works and therefore Pitthu may correspond roughly to Sanskrit Piṭha or Sindhī Piṭṭhu as in the *Tārīkh-ī-M'ausūmī*. Other two accounts under discussion where Phatū and Pahtū are found, may be the corrupted usage which are also seen very frequently in the Arabic and Persian works on India.

The name of the Sūmrās kings do not indicate anything clearly about their religion. They may either be 'Muslims', or 'Hindus'. Historians have also forwarded different opinions about their religion, observing the various accounts about them. Dr. Bird tells on the evidence of the source *Tārīkh-i-Sind* that Sūmrās were originally 'Muhammadans' descended from Aboulahil, a relative of the prophet. They came to India and started to rule in the early period of 11th century CE. But Elphinstone has called the Sūmrās as the Rājputs after verifying several sources. He also holds for certainty that in the early period, they were not 'Muslims', but after that the majority of the tribe was converted into Islam. Elphinstone has also mentioned that Sūmrās of the desert are one of the part of the Paramāra Rājputas. The source, *Tuhfatu-l-Kirām* Pahtū mentions that Phatū may be connected with Dūdā, the Sūmrā ruler of Dhak. So, Pīṭhadeva or Pahtū or Phatū is a 'Hindu' name as he may be a decedent of Paramāra Rājput.

The *Jagaḍūcarita* confirms the time of Pīṭhadeva or Phatū mentioned in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*. The account, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* has registered that Phatū has reigned for 33 years (c.1197 CE-1230 CE). According to the *Jagaḍūcarita*, Pīṭhadeva invaded Kutch and died there. So, his invasion took place probably some time before of 1230 CE. Jagaḍū sought help from the king Lavaṇaprasāda to resist the attack of Pīṭhadeva. The last date of the Vāghelā ruler Lavaṇaprasāda was 1231 CE. So it is exactly the same period which is

mentioned in these two sources. The other accounts such as  $T\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}kh-\bar{\iota}-M'aus\bar{u}m\bar{\iota}$ ,  $Tuhfatul-LKir\bar{a}m$ , do not produce the correct time of Pitthu or Pahtū which is also confirmed by the  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$ .

The narrative Jagadūcarita describes the particulars regarding the actions and conversation between Pīthadeva and Jagadū. Pīthadeva invaded Kutch and after destroying the whole country of Kutch, he reached Bhadreshwar, where he demolished the rampart of the town. After that, he returned to his country Pāra, presently called as Pārkar, which is situated in the peninsula on the north-east side of the Rann of Kutch. In order to save his native town, Jagadū took the initiative to build a new rampart in the town. When Pīthadeva came to know that Jagadū was boldly building a new rampart for Bhadreshwar, he sent a messenger, who tried to dissuade Jagadū from constructing the durga, but he did not give up. Jagadū appealed to the ruler Lavaņaprasāda of Aņahilakapāṭaka for support and it was granted. The king immediately sent a Rajput force for protection and help. But after six months, the Caulukya force was recalled from Bhadreshwar probably because of another invasion on Gujarat faced by Singhana, the king of Devagiri. Jagadū, however, could complete the construction of the rampart with the help of another army which was raised by the assistance of other wealthy inhabitants of Bhadreshwar. Pīthadeva could do no harm. Moreover Jagadū set up a stone ass with gilt horns along with an image of Pīthadeva's mother as a revengeful retort to the challenge thrown by the latter to Jagadū that "when two horns grow on the head of an ass, then thou will erect here a rampart". Thus Jagaḍū had pushed back effectively the Sumra oppression from eastern Kutch, which helps reaffirm the Caulukya sovereignty in the region. Probably, after this, he gained the status of the local representative. Jagadū made it possible to reconstruct the wall of the fort even after withdrawal of the Caulukya army. This incident established his pretensions to political influence in Bhadreshwar. Though the poet of Jagadūcarita forwards an exaggerated account that Jagadū alone carried out this work, but it seems that the herculean task could not have been completed without the contribution of other local merchants.

There is no doubt that Jagaḍū wanted the re-fortification of his town to ensure its safety. Being a very responsible and wealthy citizen, he felt it his duty to protect the town from further attacks. His appeal for help to rebuild the rampart was immediately granted by the ruler Lavaṇaprasāda of Aṇahilakapāṭaka. Eastern Kutch as far as Bhadreshwar was held by the Caulukyas for some centuries. So it was also the primary duty of the ruler Lavaṇaprasada to help in rebuilding the walls of the rampart within his kingdom. But it is also to be noted here that Jagaḍū being a prominent, wealthy and powerful merchant of

Gujarat at that time his appeal had to be readily granted by Lavaṇaprasāda who sent a Caulukya army immediately. Actually, there was a considerable rise in the power and status of the merchants during thirteenth century Gujarat. They actively participated in politics, and were also sometimes very important decision makers for the state and they used to play a crucial role to protect the country from foreign invasions. Vastupāla, the minister of Lavaṇaprasāda was also a merchant. Many chronicles and inscriptions describe his and his brother Tejḥpāla's political activities and power. The merchants of Gujarat were successful in acquiring skills beyond their traditional business aptitude right from the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. The text Jagaḍūcarita also produces such information which confirms that the merchants not only dominated the economic sphere but also wielded influence and power in political affairs. Thus the text *Jagaḍūcarita* can be relocated in the sphere of thirteenth century political history of Gujarat through special references to such historical events.

## 4.3. Religious Importance of the Text

#### 4.3.1. Introduction:

An attempt has been made in the following discourse to give an account of the religious importance of the text *Jagadūcarita*. The central character of the text, Jagadū belongs in the thirteenth century Gujarat and possibly the text was composed after hundred years of Jagadū's time, which falls in the second half of the fourteenth century. This is the period of transition intervening between the declines of 'Hindu' and starting of 'Muslim' period in Indian mediaeval history. The text narrates many incidents which confirm that the text is a piece of importance in the religious history of mediaeval India and it can be relocated in the sphere of religious perspective with special reference to the amiable cultural and religious relationship among the different religious communities in Gujarat during this time. It also portrays a dimension of complex settlement between trade and religion which helps review the text from the socio-politico-religious perspective of the said time.

#### 4.3.2. The Religious Faith of Jagadū and his Ancestors

Jagaḍū was a Jain by faith. It is known from the narrative of Sarvāṇanada that the ancestors of Jagaḍū were also the devotees of Jainism. They are said to have belonged to the Śrīmalī group, which is an important Jain mercantile caste of Śvetāmbara affiliation, mainly concentrated in Rajasthan and Gujarat. This caste is also found among the Hindus, hailed from Śrīmāla in Rajasthan. The tradition says that the Śrīmalīs were converted into Jainism by Āchārya Svayamprabha Sūri. *Viśās* and *Daśās*, which means 'twenties' and 'tens' are

the two classifications of this caste.<sup>30</sup> It is not known from the text to which one of these sub-castes did the ancestors of Jagaḍū belong.

Paramadeva, a pious monk of the *Pūrnimā gachchha* is said to be the spiritual leader of Jagadū's family. Sarvāṇanada has also mentioned many times about Jagadū's leanings to the Jain community. He organized a ceremonious reception when Paramadeva visited Bhadreshwar. This senior teacher of Jain community prolonged his stay in the city at the behest of Jagadū, and in order to end the seven kinds of misery, he expounded the seven fundamental doctrines of Jainism. Nothing is known from the other sources about this Jain religious teacher, i.e. Paramadeva and his pupil Śrisena. Moreover, the detailed information about the branch *Pūrnimā gachchha*, to which they belonged is yet to be found. But it is obvious that it is a sub-sect of Śvetāmbara Jains. The Śvetāmbaras were divided into ascetic lineages of gaṇa and kula in the early time of Gujarat. This ascetic community was divided internally in accordance to the unified view and descended from various prominent religious teachers. But from about the eleventh century CE, the term for this collective body or branch of the Svetāmbaras is replaced by the term gaccha. The derivation of the term gaccha is connected with the Sanskrit root gam, which means 'to go'. The derivation of the term also helps speculate the reason behind coining the word gaccha which seems to be the preference for wandering  $(\sqrt{gam})$  ascetism to the temple dwelling ascetism of Jain faith. A large number of followers started questioning the corrupt practices of the Jain temple dwelling monks who had given up wandering ascetism and other rituals mentioned in the Jain scriptures. The gacchas got initiated by different teachers who became heads of their own groups. There were many gacchas led by the religious gurus or teachers and usually the 'Hindu' converts supported them. The Tapā gaccha and Kharatara gaccha became very significant sects among the gacchas. They were both image worshipping sect, but they were different in the ritual practices or questioning of legitimacy. There were also other gacchas, but they were not so popular like these two and many sub-sects were also there. It is said that Uddyotana started 84 gacchas through his disciples during the tenth century. Only the name of *Pūrnimā gachchha* is mentioned in the list<sup>31</sup>, but nothing more is known about it. *Jagadūcarita* is the only text, where Āchārya Paramadeva and pupils are known to belong to the Pūrņimā gachchha. The detailed description of their activities, like pilgrimage, religious popularity of this spiritual teacher and his pupil is available in the text Jagaḍūcarita. So, it has to be admitted that the characters are not fictional. It is true that they are not known from any other sources that prove them to be real or historical, but the text may be relocated as an important document

of religious history of Jainism as it records the name of a spiritual teacher and his pupil of  $P\bar{u}rnim\bar{a}$  gachchha.

## 4.3.2.1. Pilgrimage

The people of Jain belief revered Jagadū as one of the ideal persons of the community. He made remarkable demonstrations of Jain devotion. Jagadū arranged a pilgrimage with the people of Jain community to various holy sites of Jainism under the leadership of the guru Paramadeva. Before the pilgrimage, Jagadū went to Anahilapātaka to meet Vīsaladeva, the ruler of Caulukya dynasty, who had succeeded king Viradhavala, son of Lavanaprasāda. Jagadū sought permission from the king Vīsaladeva and requested for special protection of the pilgrims. Another purpose of his visit might have been that the town Bhadreshwar be protected in his absence, as Jagadū probably governed the city through a royal charter since the time of Lavanaprasada. Jagadū also needed recommendation from the provisional authority to arrange the pilgrimage. Many rich people and merchants of the city took part in the pilgrimage. Paramadeva marked Jagadū's forehead with a tilaka as an auspicious sign to start the pilgrimage on an auspicious day. As Sarvāṇanda's description, the whole pilgrimage was a great success as they visited many places including Satruñjaya and Raivataka or Girnār.<sup>32</sup> These two places have been considered very holy to the Jains because they believed many tirthankaras attained nirvāna in these two hills, as Neminātha, the 22<sup>nd</sup> tirthankara in Girnar. Śatrunjaya is also regarded as a holy place witnessing many Jain tirthankaras attaining nirvāṇa. The hill Satruñjaya is situated at the outside of the small market town of Palitana in Gujarat. Derivative meaning of its name is 'who conquers enemy' and it is one of the five holy mountains which are sacred to the Śvetāmbara Jains. The other four are Mount Girnar, Mount Abu, Mount Sammeta and Mount Ashtapada.<sup>33</sup> As Jagadū along with Paramadeva and other pilgrims visited the two hills among these five, it also confirms that they belonged to the Śvetāmbara Jain group.

# 4.3.3. Religious Activities of Jagaḍū

Jagaḍū conducted numerous acts of piety for attaining religious merit. He was engaged in building, renovation and ornamentation of several Jain temples and images. He ornamented the temple of Vīranātha in Bhadreshwar and also built several temples of Ādinātha and a house of twenty four *tirthaṅkaras* in different towns of Kathiawar also. He also set up an image of the *tirthaṅkara* Vīra and also fifty two *jinas*. He set up a place for his spiritual teacher Paramadeva and made an arrangement along with all expenses of the festivities, in which Paramadeva's pupil Śrisena was made an *ācharya*.

It is but natural that Jagadū, a Jain by faith, is credited with constructing and and renovating several Jain temples and consecrating many Jain images. What is very special about Jagadū is that he proved himself tolerant and respectful to other faiths than Jainism. He restored a temple of Hariśamkara, probably a Śaiva one, in the town of Kunnada. A similar work worth mentioning is building a mosque (masjid, masīti) for Sīmalī (concern to Ismā'īlīs) by the reason of the wealth of the mlecchas.<sup>34</sup> He also provided funding for building some 'Hindu' temples and restoring a Śaiva temple. However, without belittling Jagadū's generosity towards other religious faiths, it may be pointed out that the time concerned witnessed such activities of other persons with high profiles. Bühler cites that the great Jain minister Vastupāla caused to erect temples of Brahmanical deities.<sup>35</sup> This practice shows that religious bigotry and bias were not deep rooted in the society at that time. A strong evidence for this statement is provided by the famous bilingual Veraval inscription, in Sanskrit and Arabic, dated in the time of Caulukya-Vāghelā Arjuna of 1264 CE.<sup>36</sup> It records the endowment of a mosque (mijigiti in Sanskrit version) by ship owner (Nākhudā) Nuruddin Firuz hailing from Hormuz port of Persian Gulf with the cordial help and cooperation of the prominent persons of Somnath Pātan and the arrangements done by him for the maintenance and expenditure of the mosque. Chādā, probably a merchant himself and the foremost among the important people of Somnath, was also instrumental and helpful in obtaining the land for the mosque for Nuruddin. The Sanskrit version of the inscription describes Nuruddin and Chāḍā as dharmabāndhava. It may seem exciting today in view of the place and the time of the record that two persons belonging to two different religious sects call themselves dharmabāndhava. But the word dharma must not be assumed to mean religious faith in the present context. The fact should not be ignored that the word dharma delivers a hoard of meanings in different contexts in Indian usages. It probably implies that their friendship rested on their righteousness, honesty or piety (dharma). This is, however, a remarkable example of tolerance, cooperation and amity between a Muslim *nākhudā* and a wealthy 'Hindu' person of prominence.

The reason behind erecting the mosques might be the wish to serve the spiritual interests of the 'Muslim' sailors or local inhabitants of the port towns of Gujarat. Being a merchant, Jagaḍū seems to have felt the urge to fulfil the religious necessities of the 'Muslim' sailors and inhabitants of the port town of Bhadreshwar. The initiative to build the *masīti* developed from the religious need of the 'Muslim' sailors who used to come from other places to the port towns of Gujarat and stayed back there for a certain time for business purpose. The text mentions the term *mlechchhalakṣmī karanātah* while indicating the

reason behind the construction of the mosque by Jagadu, which means the source of his income is the trade with the *mlechchha* (foreigner) and it was a way of acknowledgement and thanks giving to the foreigner who are living permanently or temporarily in the port town for business. A latent interest for continuity and growth of the fruit-yielding business relation cannot also be ignored on Jagadū's part. He did his maritime trade with Hormuz from where his trading partners used to come to Bhadreshwar, the western Indian coastal town. They needed a place for performing religious activities and Jagadū took up the responsibility.<sup>37</sup> It will not be out of the context to quote here Bühler's words,<sup>38</sup> "the story gains another aspect, and on the further very probable supposition that Bhadreshwar, like other ports of Kutch and Kathiawar contained a number of Musalman sailors, it seems not impossible that Jagadū extended his benevolence to these men, who may have been in his employ, and provided for their spiritual wants." It is a very interesting thing here to mention that Dr. Burgess has mentioned that "at the present day an old mosque in Bhadreshwar is there, the columns of which are, much in the same style as those of the Jain temple."<sup>39</sup> Probably the mosque was built by the architects who were conversant with the Jain architecture. The Veraval inscription also mentions that Nuruddin built one mosque for the Islamic religious leaders like imam, khatib and muezzin as well as for the ship-owners, sailors (nākhudā-norikajamātha), oilmen (ghamcikānām jamātha), lime workers (cūrṇakāra jamātha) and horse carriage drivers (patrapati) and others at the Somnath Pāṭan. He also made several arrangements for looking after the mosque as he was not a permanent resident of Somnath.

There was also various professional groups in Gujarat port towns who were probably converted to 'Islam' from 'Hindu'. In the *varṇa-jāti* system lime workers, oil millers and horse carriage drivers are rarely given proper position. May be that they were converted to Islam according to their own wish for economic gain which would earn them a respectable social status. From the early Caulukya period the conversion of several communities to 'Muslim' sects under the influence of *Pirs* and Preachers and their subsequent shift to trade and commerce were quite common in the society. Traditionally trading was the occupation of the *Vaiśya varṇa* of society. But from about the eighth-ninth centuries CE northern Gujarat witnessed the transformative process of Śūdras which resulted in the expansion of the social base of the merchant community. About the twelfth century during the reign of Siddharāja (1094-1143 CE), several communities in Gujarat peacefully were converted to Islam.

The mosque built by Jagaḍū in Bhadreshwar holds a greater importance as it is identified by M. Shokoohy<sup>40</sup> as the earliest Islamic monument in India. There is no such evidence till date that the Caulukya rulers had directly held the patronages of any Islamic monuments. But, the rulers did not also oppose such constructions. The inscriptions and narratives tell us that mainly merchants built the mosques in the coastal towns of Gujarat. An epigraphic reference<sup>41</sup> of early thirteenth century speaks that Sa'id, a rich member of Muslim traders' community built a mosque in Cambay for the 'Muslims' living there.

#### 4.3.3.1. Ismā'ili

The mosque, built by Jagaḍū is identified that it is associated with the Ismā'ili. Ismā'ilis have a very important role in the religious history of Medieaval India and it demands a brief description as the text Jagadūcarita mentions them. From the very early centuries, 'Muslims' had started living in the coastal Western India and the interaction with the indigenous people had started from that time. The transformation and evolution of local socio-political and religious condition is affected by the long history of these two groups' interaction. Ismā'ilis and Sūfīs were two main functioning groups who were responsible for most of the conversions to Islam in the early period. From the ninth century, the Ismā'ili preachers were working in Sindh area and in the late eleventh century, they had influenced a large number of people in northern India. Though it is not certain which group of people was firstly converted, probably the peasant groups from the upper area of Sindh, the pastoralist and the branches of the Jats and Sumrās were the first to be converted by Ismā'ili preachers. After that, the Ismā'ili preachers started to roam from Sindh to Rajasthan and the coastal areas of Gujarat including Kutch. Especially the trading ports were their area of settlement and activity as there lived the heterogenic group of people of ethnic Arab or Persian merchant settlers as well as local converts from pastoralists, cultivators etc. for trading activities.

## 4.3.4. The Religious Setting and Inter-religion Relationship

A peep into the religious background of the Caulukya kings seems useful to form an idea of the above-mentioned matter and to relocate the text *Jagaḍūcarita* which portrays the tolerance and amicable relation among different religious groups. The Caulukya ruler patronized mainly Śaivism, Jainism and sometimes Vaiṣṇavism. The Caulukya royalty practised Śaiva cult as is known from their chronicles, titles, temples and inscriptions as well as the records of other contemporary northern Indian dynasties. Kings of any religious faith used to patronize and associate themselves with religious works like temple building

and other related exertion. However, the merchants, officials, feudatories and other group of people also participated in the enterprise through liberal donations.<sup>42</sup>

The kings or the rulers of Caulukya dynasty built more Śaiva temples than those of other deities like Viṣṇu and his *avatāra*s, Sūrya and the mother goddess. Somanātha, the lord of the moon, an epithet of Śiva was one of the most popular temples of Caulukya period. The very first Caulukya king Mūlarāja I, devoted to Somnath, built another moon temple in Aṇahilavāda.<sup>43</sup> Other Caulukya kings, Bhīmadeva I, Karṇa I and Siddharāja built several Śaiva temples. Siddharāja built the Rudramahālaya temple which is said to have been one of the most massive temples ever built in India.<sup>44</sup>

There is very little evidence for popular Vaiṣṇavism in this period. None of the Caulukya kings except Siddharāja, erected any temple of Viṣṇu. But, from the fifteenth century, Dvārakā and other sites associated with Kṛṣṇa cult, an offshoot of Vaiṣṇavite faith, were popularised as trans-regional pilgrimages. The main feature of this Kṛṣṇaite Vaiṣṇavism was *bhakti* and it largely attracted merchant groups. Specially Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu and the goddess of wealth was worshipped among the merchant class including Jains. Though, the Caulukya rulers were not inclined to Vaiṣṇavism, there are many instances showing their officials and merchants as devotees of Viṣṇu. An epigraphic reference tells that a courtier built two Viṣṇu temples in Somanātha during the reign of Bhīmadeva II. There were some inscriptions of Karṇa I's feudatory and also some belonging to the reign of Siddharāja, where we find the invocation to Vāsudeva and the Varāha *avatāra*. Varāha *avatāra*.

The influence of Jainism also played a very crucial role from the early period of the Caulukya rule in Gujarat. As already stated, the Caulukya rulers were mostly Śaivas, though a few were inclined to Jainism. But Jainism was the regulating factor in the relation between rulers and their ministers and with the powerful wealthy merchants as well as with the feudal of the state. The Caulukya rulers supported the Jains in every possible term from the very inception of the dynasty. The Caulukya king Mūlarāja I (942-995 CE) built *Mūlavasatika* for the Digambara Jains and a temple of *Mūlahāta* Jinadeva for the Śvetāmbara sect at Aṇahilavāda. The most famous temple of Jains, the Neminātha temple on Mount Abu was built by Vimala, the *Danḍanāyaka* of Bhīma I (1030-1064 CE). Many Jains held powerful positions at the court of Caulukya king Siddharāja Jayasimha (1094-1143 CE) and also his successor Kumārapāla (1143-1174 CE). Hemacandra, the Jain scholar, poet under Siddharāja Jayasimha who was a Śaiva. Kumārapāla, the successor of Siddharāja

Jayasimha was the greatest supporter of Jainism. It is said that, he was the only king responsible for the stronghold of the Jains in Gujarat forever. Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism and many prominent Jains became his followers. After his reign, his descendants did not embrace Jainism, though they continued to be very prosperous and powerful community.

Gradually, Gujarat became such a place of religious diversity which attracted the missionaries, priests and prophets in various ways. The merchants or chieftains started to secure the powerful positions of patrons of any religion. The religious itineraries started to traverse the trade routes with the increasing importance of pilgrimages and the gatherings of pilgrims grew in the new sites. The 'Muslim' merchants started their establishments in the coastal towns of Gujarat from very early time. Specially Ismā'ili missionaries and Suhni 'Muslim' missionaries were active in Gujarat including western India and Sind. But by the thirteenth century, the inland settlements in Aṇahilavāda Pāṭan, Brauch and Junagadh were prominent.<sup>48</sup> The local 'Muslim' communities started living in a wide range and the people of this community chose different occupations like those of oil-pressures, white-washers and so on.<sup>49</sup>

The text Jagadūcarita records the spirit of amiable relation, mutual trust and cooperation among groups of various faiths even in this period of religious mix-up and transition of political power in Gujarat. Such acts of graceful toleration give us a push to look back to the history of Gujarat. Historically, coastal Gujarat is a very significant place that witnessed the ingress of Muslims since early seventh century. From the middle of the tenth century, the Caulukya dynasty ruled Gujarat for 362 years. They carried forward the religious policy of their predecessors throughout their tenure and most strikingly so even after the cyclonic invasion and destruction of Somanath by Mahmud Ghazni (c.1025-26 CE). The Caulukyas did not abandon their rajadharma. Neither Bhīmdeva I, nor his successors retaliated along religious lines against local Muslims. They made a clear distinction between the Turkic-invaders and the peaceful Arab-Iranian merchants. By the time of Karnadeva (son of Bhīmadeva I), the southern Gujarat coast was under Caulukya rule and the maritime trade had come to play a vital role in the political economy of the Caulukya State. In this political scenario, political wisdom also demanded a tolerance towards the powerful merchant community. Caulukya kings were wise enough to stick to this policy.

The material and political milieu of traditional India was dominated by agriculture. But trade and maritime commerce were seen at that time as important constituents in the socio-economic life of early India. We can gather a lot of information about the trade routes, centers of trade, names of the ports etc. But apart from these, merchants also played a great role in the activities and exchange of economic, religious and cultural ideas. That they were not only dealers of commodities is testified by the text under description and also many inscriptions of that time. With the expansion of maritime trade, the social status of merchants began to rise in Gujarat. They had started to secure the positions of ministers or important administrative posts at the king's court. This trend continued and was strengthened during Caulukya period and the poet Merutunga in his book Prabandhacintāmaņi suggests that ministers got selected from the merchant class. Other Jain colophons describe many ministers and generals who were from the merchant community.<sup>50</sup> The most famous merchants during the Caulukya period were the Jain brothers Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, who held important posts at the court of the Vaghalā kings Lavanaprasāda and Virdhavala. They played a critical role in the political and economic consolidation of the Caulukya kingdom in the first half of the thirteenth century. In the Veraval inscription also, Amarsimha from the merchant class held an important position in Pañcakula. So, Pañcakula, whose members were nominated by the state, included also the merchants of the society. It definitely shows the influential powers of trading community, because there used to be a representative of their class in the Pañcakula. The Prabandhacintāmaņi indicates that, the Pañchakula performed various tasks such as the collection of pilgrimage tax, supervision of construction work and enforcement of non-slaughter measures.

Now we would like to inspect the situation of Bhadreshwar from the point of view of political authority prevalent during the period in question. In first half of the thirteenth century Gujarat was governed by the 'Hindu' Caulukya dynasty. Vāghelā kings were the rulers, when this wonderful event of the construction of a mosque by a Jain merchant took place. Some examples of Caulukya rulers' religious tolerance towards the Muslims are found in literary sources also. The *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* notes that by the end of the eleventh century a number of Sufi Saints had established their *khankah* or monastery and *madrasa* in Patan, the capital of Gujarat, and propagated Islam peacefully. The Sufi Haji Hud arrived in Patan during the reign of Karṇadeva (1064-1094 CE) and many 'Hindu's embraced Islam under his influence. It is also said that when Karṇadeva came to know about him and his teachings, he went to meet him and granted him permission to establish his *khankah* 

and *mādrasā*. So we are not sure whether the economic profit from maritime trade or the inferior military power of the ruling dynasty in comparison with that of the Muslim invaders, made the Chaulukya kings tolerant towards the Muslims. But the social milieu of Gujarat especially port towns was in perfect tune with this coexistence of cultural and religious heterogeneity.

It may thus be safely stated that the text reveals the existence of extremely communal harmony among various religious communities, especially with the 'Muslim' even after the devastation of the Gaznavid raid of 1025 CE in Somanath. The people of the place in general and the ruling group and elites in the coastal society could rise above the religious intolerance and welcome others belonging to different religious faiths into the existing social and cultural setting. This was not the only time when Gujarat passed through a period of such religious transition. In the early fourteenth century Gujarat political picture changed as a result of the Sultani expedition. But before that time, there was a socio-politically suitable situation where different religious sects could practise their own rituals peacefully. The hostility and riots among the 'Hindu' and Muslims were not the real culture of Gujarat from the early time; the seed of intolerance and hatred had been consciously sown by the British ruler of colonial India.<sup>51</sup>

# 4.4. Importance of the Text as a mirror of the Social Situation

#### 4.4.1. Introduction

The social life of ancient Indian people, both in early and early mediaeval periods, can hardly be separated from their religious life. It is an undeniable fact that followers of any religious faith observe their own social rites, related with their individual religious faiths, by which their social behaviour and customs are largely monitored. The text of our discussion *Jagaḍūcarita* narrates mainly the activities of the Jain merchant Jagaḍū. From this narrative, it is possible to draw a preliminary sketch of the contemporary society Jagaḍū lived in and also his impact on it as a rich and powerful merchant of the area. Jagaḍū's strong financial and political power easily gave him a high social status. The discussion below will attempt to establish these aspects.

## 4.4.2. The Śrīmāla Merchant Class

Jagaḍū and his ancestors hailed from the traders' family of Śrīmāla race, a regional subcaste of merchants in western India. This merchant group owed its name to their original home town of Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla, the modern Bhīnmal in southern Marwad.<sup>52</sup> This

regional sub-caste and their activities in trading as well as in creative areas are noted in the inscriptions<sup>53</sup> of the eleventh century to thirteenth century. The mention of Jagaḍū's caste along with his ancestors in the text, helps us look back to the root and the information also bears the proof of migration, rise, settlement and social role of this particular group of people, businessmen by profession.

The chief occupation of vaisyas was trade, but in early-medieval India, the brāhmaṇas and even the kṣatriyas were sometimes compelled to take up this profession under unavoidable social circumstances or also being urged to make quick economic gains. In the early times, according to the Dharmaśāstras, even a śūdra can become a trader, if he cannot maintain himself by the service of the dvijas.<sup>54</sup> Thus, the mercantile community became a class in which the concept of caste became subdued by the necessity of acquiring wealth. From the ninth century inscriptions and literary sources produce many instances where the *brāhmaṇa*s are mentioned to be trading with commodities like horses, clothes, betel-nuts, wine, butter, milk, salt etc.<sup>55</sup> But the kşatriyas are rarely referred to in contemporary sources of mediaeval history to be involved in trading activities the cause of which may be searched in the possibility of their getting merged with the *vaisya*s soon after they took trade as their occupation. According to D.R. Bhandarkar<sup>56</sup>, "it is a well-known fact that many Rajput tribes for avoiding Muhammadan oppression and so forth, became Jains and merged themselves in to the Bania classes." The very popular Osvāla merchant class was originally the Solanki Rajputs. They adopted Jainism in the year 743 CE and merged with the *vaiśyas*. <sup>57</sup> The Śrīmāla caste mentioned in the *Jagadūcarita* also confirms and strengthens the concept of the heterogeneous character of the mercantile community in early-mediaeval India. H.D. Sankalia has clearly shown that Śrīmāla, the regional subcaste of merchants in western India were originally ksatriyas and they adopted the profession of vaiśyas later on.<sup>58</sup> There were also some other merchant classes in western India like Porvād, Dharkatta etc. who were previously ksatriyas, but later they got merged with the vaniks. The two popular merchant ministers of contemporary time, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, were primarily regarded as vaiśyas, but their ancestors are mentioned as thakkura or tha which was probably a "feudal title borne chiefly by the kṣatriyas." The merchant classes of western India in Caulukya period mainly referred to in the inscriptions and literature by their professions or regions rather than by their varna. Actually after tenth century CE in western India, trade was adopted by all the four varnas challenging the scriptural injunctions relating to the professions prescribed for each. This trend came to be followed by all classes of people in the society. Those who owned no land or a little land

turned to the trade or other activities to earn money and they all came under the common term 'merchant class'. This 'merchant class', irrespective of any *varṇa* or *jāti* had started to gain higher social status in society. V. K. Jain has also commented, "Trade in Western India was not the preserve of any particular caste, and anybody who had the will, skill and enterprise could follow it, though slowly and gradually those who were engaged in it came to be identified with the *vanik* caste."

The people of Śrīmāla caste or Śrīmālis are divided into two branches: *Viśas* and *Daśas*, 'twenties' and 'ten'. They have also a third branch *Lāḍavas*, as they lived in the old Lāṭa deśa of southern Gujarat. There are seven sub-divisions of *Viśa* Śrīmālis. They are-Ahmedābādīs, Kaṭhariyās, Pālhanapuriyās, Pāṭaṇis, Soraṭhiyās, Talabadas and Theradiyās. The Daśa Śrīmālis have three divisions: Horasaṭha, Canāpahhā and Iḍadiyā. The Lāḍava Śrīmālis have no division. The three main divisions with the people their own sub-divisions used to eat together, but they did not allow inter-marriage among them. The Viśas and the Daśas could go for matrimonial relations with the other Jain sub-castes of these two and also with their Vaiṣṇava caste-counterparts. The Śrīmālis have 135 gotras or exogamous sections. It is not known to us to which sub-caste or gotra of the Śrīmālis did Jagaḍū belong. But it can be surmised that the sub-divisions of this Śrīmālis were a recent development and possibly in the thirteenth century there were not so many divisions of the merchant caste. After migrating from Marwad, Rajasthan, they started to settle down in the Kutch area and obviously so much prosperity of this class was not achieved by that time. Gradually, they grew and stretched out to different regions of Gujarat as well as Rajasthan.

The most remote ancestor of Jagaḍū was Vīyaṭṭhu who used to live in the town of Śrīmāla of Rajasthan. Vīyaṭṭhu's son Varaṇāga is said to leave their ancestral town and settled in Kanthā, modern Kanthkot<sup>62</sup> of Vāgad, situated in the eastern part of Kutch. This area too belonged to the Caulukya kings of Aṇahilavāḍa from that time. It is noted that Mūlarāja I took refuge in *Kanthādurga* or an old fortress of Kanthkot<sup>63</sup>, which is on the top of an isolated rocky hill and the steep scrap of which was crowned by a wall built of massive blocks when Bārapa from Lāṭa and the king of Sapādalakṣa invaded the dominion of Mūlarāja I.<sup>64</sup> Later, Bhīmadeva I also resided in this fortress during the expedition of Mahmūd of Ghaznī against Somanātha. Probably, the next two generations of Varaṇāga resided at Kantha but Solaka, the son of Vīsala and the great grandson of Varaṇāga shifted to Bhadreshwar where his wife Śrī begot sons - Jagaḍū, Rāja and Padma. After his father's death, Jagaḍū took the responsibility of the family. He married Yaśomatī and his brothers

also got married. Jagaḍū gradually started to expand his shipping business and earned a lot of wealth which made him a renowned person in his community.

It is noted here that Jagadū's ancestors migrated from Śrīmāla of Rajasthan to Bhadreshwar, Kutch in Gujarat through Kanthkot. This history of movement and settlement helps relocate the text as a crucial instance of pastoralism, habitation, and the making of a coastal region of Gujarat during the Caulukya period. The eastern part of Gujarat was always urbanised and prosperous. But the area of Kutch along with Saurashtra Peninsula have a different physical environment. Agricultural activity in the region is quite difficult because of persistent dry season, salty soil and irregular rainfall throughout the year. A great number of pastoral groups from north and north-west arrived and started to settle in the Kutch area from the very beginning of the tenth century CE, among whom may be mentioned the Sammās, Cāvaḍās and Kāṭhīs. Later these people started to take control over the area. In the eleventh century the Sūmrā clan began to rule in the lower Sind and came into conflict with the Sammās. The ruling Cāvaḍās granted land to the Sammās and their prominence kept soaring high. The Jādejā clans drove out the Kāṭhīs in the thirteenth century CE. Within this time Alā' al-Din Khiljī ended the Sūmrā rule in Sind and almost all the Sammās and the Sūmrās fled to Kutch. A continuous clash for the power between these clans was there and these area were ruled by the local chieftains of more powerful clans. 65 This time the Śrīmali clan also started to live in the Bhadreshwar of Kutch. The number of migrants to different regions of Gujarat from the town of Śrīmāla, Rajasthan touched near about twenty thousand in the tenth century CE. The traditional origin of the Śrīmāli and their immigration into Gujarat has been discussed in the Vimala –Pravandha of 1490 CE. 66 Jagadū, being a Śrīmāli merchant started to do prosper in his business in the first half of the thirteenth century CE and became also involved in the political matters as a confidante of the royal court of Anahilavada. This provided the Śrīmalis with a social status which helped them gain not only a secure settlement in the area, but also a consequent fortune and expansion over the whole of Gujarat.

#### **4.4.3.** Culture

Different forms of social culture may be reconstructed from the text of  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$ . It records an incident of re-marriage of widows at that time mirroring the society's stand on a very important social issue like marriage. Marriage of a daughter was considered the duty of a father and in the absence of father it passed on to the mother and then to her brothers. It is recorded in the  $Jagad\bar{u}carita^{67}$  that  $Jagad\bar{u}$  had a daughter named  $Pr\bar{t}$  imat $\bar{t}$ , widowed

at a young age, and he wanted to re-marry her to a suitable groom. It is also stated there that Jagaḍū sought permission from his relatives in this matter before fixing the match for her daughter. The wise elders of his family granted permission. But two other widows of Jagaḍū's relation would not allow this re-marriage unless and until their own re-marriage was arranged. The remonstration of these two ladies aroused a feeling of guilt in Jagaḍū for being partial to his daughter. Jagaḍū finally gave up the idea of his daughter's remarriage. Another very famous incident of re-marriage of a widow in this period is found to be that of the mother of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. Their mother, Kumāradevī was a widow before he got married to their father Āśārāja. The marriage was arranged by the permission of the preceptor, Haribhadra Sūri. 68

What is noticeable here that re-marriage of the widows were not unheard of and it was permissible in the Śrīmali Vaņiyas and between other merchant classes also. But it needed the permission of the elders. However, re-marriage of widows was not a regular practice. Hemacandra, the famous scholar-cum-poet of this time has condemned remarriage of women. Hemacandra in his book Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita<sup>69</sup> remarks that "what dharma is there of those women who marry again in case of five calamities". Nārada<sup>70</sup> and Kautilya<sup>71</sup> have mentioned the five calamities as husband's death, impotency, and absence from home for a long period, adoption of a monastic life or becoming an outcast. It can be inferred here that re-marriage of women, though not prohibited, was not also a very welcomed custom in the society. It is not also clear whether other varṇa-jāti people allowed such marriage at that time. The trading class, through its continuous interaction with people and culture of foreign countries might have developed a more relaxed view towards obligatory social customs of the time and probably because of their immense wealth and power one did not risk one's position by questioning their decisions and choices, even if they went against śāstric injunctions. Another probable cause may be that because of many young newly wed merchants involved mainly in maritime trade would be succumbing to calamities in the sea or to other hazardous situations in foreign lands pushing the number of widows in their community higher than that in other professions and it was felt necessary to reinstate them in normal family life for the sake of themeselves and the society. It will not be out of context here to mention that the number of young widows in the army community surpasses that in other careers.

The text *Jagaḍūcarita* describes the incident of getting a talisman from the neck of a she-goat which was bought from a shepherd and which made him richer and granted him all prosperity.<sup>72</sup> Jagaḍū was a successful merchant and earned a lot of money from the

maritime business. But this story about the primary source of his wealth and prosperity tells about the common Indian belief that success of every prosperous person must have been derived through certain supernatural influence like a talisman or some *mantra*. Bühler also comments in this context, "In Rājputānā I was seriously asked for the Mantra, by means of which the Western nations prepared their excellent gun-powder". The text is composed probably in the last part of the fourteenth century CE, which was almost hundred years later of Jagaḍū's time. After a long gap of hundred years it is quite possible that the immense wealth acquired by him turned him into a thing of wonder to posterity which created myths and fabulous stories about his fortune. The author Sarvānanda Sūri has included these incidents reflecting the cultures and customs of contemporary society to make his narrative more interesting and attractive to common people.

Another incident of Jagaḍū's propitiation to the gods to obtain a son reveals a remarkable socio-religious outlook of that time. As Jagaḍū had no son, his wife Yaśomatī advised him to worship the gods to get a boon for a son. Jagaḍū worshipped the god of the ocean for seven days with great devotion. Then Susthitāmara, the god of ocean appeared in front of him to whom he prayed for a son for perpetuation and protection of his race and wealth and also for obtaining spiritual merit. The god did not grant him a boon of begetting a son, but blessed him with a boon of prosperity and fortune and a promise of safe arrival of all his ships to the port. After presenting the merchant with some excellent jewellery from his treasures, the deity disappeared. Hereafter Jagaḍū, 'the lamp of Sola's race, whose ships always arrived safe by virtue of the boon granted by the Ocean, shone in that town with great brilliance, his glory being equal to that of Indra'. The incident described in the text has two aspects.

First, in spite of being a Jain, Jagaḍū instead of worshipping any Jina, prayed to another deity, Susthitāmara, the god of the ocean. This god may be any locally worshipped deity popular among the merchant class and the name suggests its affinity to Brahmanical culture. There was no restriction imposed on a Jain to worship deities of other religious orders. It is a very remarkable example of religious empathy of thirteenth century Gujarat. Even if the account is discarded as a fanciful story, it unerringly points to the absence of religious conservativeness among the people of different religious beliefs. Another incident goes like this- Jayantasimha, one of Jagaḍū's assistants found a mysterious stone from the port in the Persian Gulf and later advised by a Śaivite yogi, Jagaḍū broke it and found it as full of jewels. The local Śaivites also cooperated with him many times. These references

prove Śaivite influence on a Jain merchant which surely strengthened the socio-religious harmony of the society.

Secondly, the performance of sacred rites for the sake of a son announces a social aspect of that time. After having a daughter, a wish for begetting a son to increase one's own race and performing penances for the same were common social phenomena from very early age of Indian culture. There was no exception of it in the society of thirteenth century Gujarat. It is a fact that Jagaḍū was miraculously wealthy. He acquired a lot of money, jewels etc. which made him a very rich person. The poet of *Jagaḍūcarita* has tried to show that he has acquired the wealth by the grace of God, and smooth, obstacle-free business is also not possible without his will. This style of presenting the incidents of a narrative also uncovers a socio-religious picture of the contemporary society.

## **4.4.4.** Charity

The humanitarian face of Jagadū, one of the wealthiest merchants of thirteenth century CE Gujarat was manifested through his generous work at the time of the natural calamities. His charitable acts towards the society of Gujarat made him memorable till date as an exemplary philanthropist. Gujarat was affected by one of the most terrible and long drawn famines which is said to have lasted for three years (Vikrama Samvat 1313-1315 i.e. 1256-1258 CE) during the rule of Vāghelā king Vīsaladeva. As a responsible citizen Jagadū unveiled his benevolence which has always marked him distinctly from other rich merchants. He undertook relief operation with utmost earnestness during this great famine. He opened a number of relief houses in his native town Bhadreśvar as well as in other towns of Gujarat with which he was connected through business transactions or wherever he held property. He also liberally distributed grains from his granaries among large number of starving people. When the distress reached the peak with charity from other directions entirely lacking, Jagadū came forward with succor. The Vāghela chief Vīsaladeva sought Jagadū's assistance to meet the exigency of food-grains. He gave large portion of grains to Vīsaladeva and also to some of the chiefs in the districts adjacent to Kutch.<sup>76</sup> It is stated in the *Jagaḍūcarita* that this devastating famine had been predicted by Paramadeva, his Jaina teacher. Accordingly he stored large quantity of grains as a future provision to combat the sufferings of the people and this act definitely helped him gain great fame.<sup>77</sup> It also suggests that Jagadū was a big grain dealer of Kutch and so he could stockpile such large quantity of food-grain. He used to run his business in food-grain within Gujarat besides his maritime trade. He would import grains from eastern Saurasthra and

other places for the disbursement in local regions of Kutch or for onward sale in Sind and Marwad. Probably Jagaḍū had the resources to meet up the necessity of grains in the area of Kutch which is almost entirely isolated from the mainland and surrounded by Rann drying up during summer and even then remaining inaccessible for the human. Only twenty to thirty miles area lying between Bhuj and south-east coast is the agricultural region producing wheat, barley and cotton. The necessity of other types of food grain in Kutch was taken care by the trader Jagaḍū. This information contained in Jagaḍūcarita establishes the importance of text for the knowledge of socio-economic condition of Jagaḍū's time and region.

However, the account of relief operation in the Jagadūcarita seems to be exaggerated. Bühler also thinks it "as full of exaggerations. Nearly all the details are obviously fictitious". 79 It is told that he opened 112 alms houses for combatting the distresses. He sent 12000 mūṭakas to Hamīra, the ruler of Sindh; 18000 mūṭakas to the King Madanavarman of Avanti; 21000 mūţakas to the lord of Delhi Mojadīna; 32000 mūṭakas to Pratāpasimha, king of Kāśī and many more. Totally he distributed 999,000 mūtakas of grain which cost him almost 180 million in currency of that period. 80 The term mūṭaka or mūḍā used for a local weight of highest denomination, mainly used in western India. 1 mūtaka or mūdā was considered equal to 160 sei or 640 māna. 81 The number of alms houses Jagadū opened seems to be grossly exaggerated. The amount of money spent for distributing the food grains is also unbelievable. There is no doubt that Jagaḍū spent a lot of money in order to alleviate the fearful sufferings of his countrymen during the famine and distributed grains to the people and also to the kings of his own as well as the neighbouring states, but the poet Sarvānanda Sūri has narrated it in an exaggerated manner purposefully to portray his hero as an exemplary philanthropist. Jagadū's charitable work made him so popular that Someśvara, the court poet of Vīsaladeva eulogised him with verses.

## 4.5 Trade: Politics, Religion and Society

The geographical location of Gujarat has always been congenial for maritime as well as interregional land-trade with countries of Asia and intraregional trade in western India. The well-planned layout of the ports of Gujarat helps the merchants achieve their ultimate goal of accumulating wealth through trading along the coast and across the seas. Trade in various types of objects flourished between late tenth and fourteenth centuries CE under the Caulukya rule and the vibrant commercial activities also resulted in some merchants

amassing tremendous wealth. Their wealth and social status led to a powerful and dependable bonding with the kings of this period. So the merchants were always the keytone of the Caulukya period. For a long period before the Caulukya rule merchant communities of Gujarat had been exercising influence in political affairs, holding the administrative posts and enjoying a considerable social status. Vanarāja, the founder of the Cāvaḍā dynasty in the eighth century, was perhaps the initiator of interactive and mutually productive support system between the ruler and the rich merchants in Gujarat. Ninnaya, a merchant prince of Prāgvāṭa family, originally belonging to the city of Śrīmāla, was Vanarāja's prime counsellor and Ninnaya's son Lahara acted as *daṇḍapati* (a general or governor of armies) of the king.<sup>82</sup> So, the powerful persons of mercantile class seem to have strengthened the two most important elements of the state, viz. the army and the treasury of Cāvaḍā kingdom. This tradition was followed by the Caulukya kings and continued up to the thirteenth century. <sup>83</sup>

The most famous merchants during the Caulukya period were the two Jain brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who held important and powerful posts like *mahāmātya* or chief minister at the court of Vāghelā chiefs Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala. These two brothers played a crucial role in the political and economic consolidation of the Caulukya kingdom in the first half of the thirteenth century Gujarat. Apart from maintaining the administrative duties, the two merchant brothers were also engaged in exterminating the enemies who tried to create obligations and corruption in business. These two Jain merchant ministers were also the most important patrons of learning and literature of that time. They were also credited with many religious and philanthropic activities, such as construction and restoration of temples, wells, tanks, almshouses, rest houses and places of meditation all over the kingdom of Vāghelās. <sup>84</sup>

Jagaḍū, our hero, was another real life famous and wealthy merchant of this time who lived in Kutch in the early part of the thirteenth century whose achievements are sung in the *Jagaḍūcarita*. It is already shown that the text, though professedly a *kāvya* by type, is a treasure house of information regarding different aspects of social, religious and political condition of the time concerned. Under the present context also it serves a researcher with clues to form an idea about the nature of the relation of a merchant with the ruler, the rise, power and the political significance of Jagaḍū as a merchant and also of the merchant group in the contemporary political scenario, the links between trade and religion, especially Jainism, and the social impact and influence of the merchant community.

#### 4.5.1. Trade and Politics

Gujarat ports were the hub of maritime activities for the foreign trade of western India in Indian Ocean from the very early time and these ports along with the coastline always presented a different history from the mainland of Gujarat. For the rulers the material prosperity and political control of Gujarat was dependent on the possession of ports and costal belt. Sometimes the estimate of profit from the resources and revenue related to maritime trade influenced the inland politics. The main ports of Gujarat in Caulukya period were Bhrgukaccha (Broach), Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Somanath Pattan, Bhadreshwar on the Gulf of Kutch, Mangrol and Ghogha on the coast of Saurāṣtra and many more. 85 Jagaḍū, the merchant prince of thirteenth century was based in Bhadreshwar which seems to be the most important port on the Kutch coast during the post-tenth centuries. Though Kutch has a very convenient geographical position from the point of view of trade, its climate and soil are not agreeable for agriculture. That is why commerce became the main source of sustenance for the people of Kutch. Jain has commented in his book, 86 "The Cutch sailors are equal to any to be found in the western coast of India, in both skill and daring and are known for making very good sea-boats called cotias." Bhadreshwar, the port town, the most popular and important centre for trade, has been described as a velākula in an inscription of 1138 CE.87 Kotai, situated in northern Kutch, was also a centre for trade carried with Sind. Burgess<sup>88</sup> had discovered many copper and silver coins of the Arabs from this place. It was connected with Bhadreshwar on the Gulf of Kutch.

Jagaḍū hailed from a Śrīmali traders' family who came from Śrīmāla or present Bhinmal of Rajasthan. The interregional migrated communities of Gujarat generally use prefixes to indicate their origin and thus they would carry their identity in the ethnographic map of Gujarat. Jagaḍū's father Solaka was the person who settled in the port town of Bhadreshwar and among his three sons, Jagaḍū the eldest became the provider of the family. He augmented his business within the region and earned a lot of wealth from both hinterland and foreign trade. He is said to have maintained regular trade with Persia and transported goods in his own ships. He had also an agent at Hormuz who regulated his maritime trade. Hormuz was a dominant Iranian port in the Persian Gulf since early medieval times. This port used to act as the entry point into the Arabian Sea from the Persian Gulf and for its prime position, the trade between India and Iran and with the surrounding regions was dependent on it. Chinese records of seventh and eighth centuries

refer to port names, which may be identified with Hormuz. Marco Polo also has mentioned that Indian ships visited the port of Hormuz. But, the first Indian reference to Old Hormuz is found in the *Jagadūcarita* of Sarvānanda Sūri. Actually there are very few documents of the maritime activities of India in the foreign land whereas the Arabs and other traders have maintained vast accounts to record their mercantile activities in India. In this regard, *Jagadūcarita* can claim a special status for providing information of mercantile activities of India in foreign trading.

Jagadū was not only a munificent and exemplary merchant of his time, but he acted as a saviour of his town Bhadreshwar, when the city was overrun by Pīthadeva, a Sūmrā chief of Pāra, Sind. Jagaḍū started to rebuild the town wall of Bhadreśvara, which was destroyed by Pīthadeva after his return. But hearing this news Pīthadeva sent a messenger with a message for Jagadū asking him to stop the rebuilding of the ramparts. He threatened him that otherwise he would destroy all the pride of the race and wealth of Jagaḍū. But Jagadū refused to stop the work and sought help from the ruler Lavaņaprasāda of Aṇahilapāṭaka. With the help of the army sent by the Vāghelā ruler and local people of the town, Jagadū succeeded in reconstructing the wall of Bhdreshwar, which looked more wonderful than before. It 'resembled Siva's mountain and was beautified by an excellent encircling moat'. 91 This incident helped Jagadū become a powerful and influential person of the town. This politically strategic action also gave him the status of a local representative. People of Bhadreshwar started to acknowledge him as a representative of them to the Caulukya king at Anahilapataka. Caulukya sovereignty reasserted again in Bhadreshwar with the set back of the Sūmrā attack. Jagadū was powerful and influential earlier by dint of his wealth in the merchant community. But now the political power added with the wealth made him more popular with the local people of the town irrespective of caste, class and religion.

Jagaḍū continued to maintain and increase his power as he became wealthier by trading. He was vocal for his right and belongings even to the highest sovereign power. Once a ship full of horses was shipwrecked near Bhadreshwar. Only one horse could be rescued. Visaladeva was the Caulukya king then. His minister Nāgada claimed that horse as the royal property. Jagaḍū then visited the royal court of Visaladeva and told firmly with proof that the horse was his own property. He was so powerful by way of his wealth and position that he dared make the bold claim before the king. Horses were usually a very costly item to import and usually in the cases of shipwreck, the salvaged cargo was counted as the property of the king. But a local merchant like Jagadū was brave enough to claim it

as his own property which shows the level of power he rose to. Burgess has mentioned that according to the Jain tradition, he 'received a grant of Bhadreshwar in absolute right forever'. The kings too did not want to confront the wealthy and powerful merchants as they were the sources of taxes and came out helpful in times of monetary need of the state.

The merchants of Gujarat prospered on foreign as well as internal trade mainly in the later Caulukya period and controlled far-flung networks of lower-order commercial centres in the hinterlands of coastal Gujarat. 93 Gradually, the mercantile community created and expanded their political and social base. Amassing fabulous wealth they grew extremely powerful in the society. Creative literature like caritas and dramas were composed to describe their vast wealth and high position. Sometimes the descriptions are exaggerated and hard to believe. But the evidence in the form of temples left behind by the two merchant brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla and facts recorded in the Jagaḍūcarita, convince us that these merchants were fabulously rich. The Caulukya kings strongly favoured the merchants. Caulukya Kumārapāla was very much generous to the merchants. Udayana, a merchant and his son probably helped Kumārapāla to come to the throne. Udayana's extreme possession of wealth made people call him as a minister. Majumdar has rightly added a comment here that possibly Udayana was a junior minister endowed with less power during Siddharāja's time. Actually he had made it possible for Kūmārapāla to become a king and hold the power of Caulukya kingdom. Vastupāla and Tejahpāla also had a great contribution for the prosperity of two Vāghelas, viz. Lavaņaprasāda and Vīradhavala, who came into prominence by helping the Caulukya king Bhima II to recover his capital from the usurper and promoted to the highest position in the land by Bhīma II. Thus trade and traders were always the regulating factor for the Caulukya politics in the thirteenth century Gujarat. The unprecedented growth of trading activities in Gujarat towns and ports, increasing number of markets, various tolls and taxes collected by the state and the high and mighty position occupied by the merchants in the contemporary society and politics, all combine to point to the fact that there was an extreme expansion of economy in Gujarat from eleventh to thirteenth century which had never been experienced there in early times.

## 4.5.2. Trade and Religion

Trade had become an important factor to create flexibility in relations between different religious groups. Basically it was mutual and the rulers also paid modify attention to the traders of other country which may present in their political confrontation zone. The commercial relationship was maintained between diverse religious groups despite the armed hostility between their rulers. There was a wealthy Hindu merchant of Nahrwāla (Aṇahilavāḍa) named Wasa Abhira in twelfth century. His extensive property was refrained from confiscating in Ghazni by Muhamad Ghori despite the defeat of himself by a Caulukya king (let off without confiscation in Ghazni by Muhamad Ghori despite his defeat by a Caulukya ruler. He peigraphic reference of 1218 CE speaks that Sa'id, a rich member of Muslim traders community built a mosque in Cambay for the 'Muslims' living there. Though the ruler was Bhīmadeva II (1178-1242 CE) then and he had more than one armed conflicts with 'Muslims', he did not prevent the construction of the mosque as it was meant for the traders.

Trade with the hinterland of Gujarat and also with the other countries of Gulf was one of the most important factors for the rising prosperity of Jainism in Gujarat. The Jain merchants were extremely wealthy as the commercial wealth of Gujarat was tied to them through connections with the seaports of foreign countries. The thirteenth century Jain merchant prince Jagadū made his contribution to popularise Jainism in Gujarat through his various political, religious and philanthropic activities. Jainism started to gain its royal support in Gujarat when the Caulukya king Kumārapāla (1143-1174 CE) was converted to Jainism and promoted Jainism by appointing prominent Jains in his court. It is discussed earlier that Kumārapāla had gained the royal power by the help of Udayana who was also a merchant. Hemachandra, the great scholar and poet of that time was the court poet of Siddharāja, who basically inspired Siddharāja's nephew and successor Kumārapāla towards Jainism. Later, Kumārapāla was reverted to Hinduism but Jains started to grow as the powerful and prosperous community. The most powerful Jains of this time, the two merchants Vastupāla and Tejahpāla maintained their administrative duties as ministers and also engaged in uprooting the enemies who tried to create obligations and corruption for business. These two Jain merchant ministers were also the most important patrons of learning and literature of that time. Vastupāla was highly liberal towards poets and scholars, and there was hardly a notable scholar in Gujarat in those days, who did not come into contact with him and the result was a lot of chronicles written in his praise to describe his magnetic personality. Someśvara, the author of Kīrtikaumudī was a Brahmin, but the

Jain minister Vastupāla maintained a close relationship with him, as he did not make any discrimination for scholars and poets on religious ground while extending patronage. These two brothers are credited with a list of religious and philanthropic deeds which surely helped popularise Jainism in the said time.

Jagaḍū, the merchant prince based in Bhadreshwar, helped spread Jain faith by his activities in thirteenth century and his deeds remained unfaded in memory of the people to inspire after hundred years another Jain poet Sarvāṇanda Sūri to write a biography of the merchant prince. After that many chronicles were composed about him and even today plays based upon his life are staged. His acts of benevolence to the famine-stricken in Gujarat in c.1256-1256 CE including the help extended to the Caulukya king Vīsaladeva in the time of need have left permanent mark in the mind of the people of Gujarat. It is also natural that being a Jain Jagaḍū by his contribution towards his countrymen made the Jain followers proud. This pious Jain's acts of generosity were not confined in his state only and it spread over the neighbouring countries too. Thus he made himself and his faith gain popularity in his own land and beyond.

# 4.5.3. Trade and Society

The social status of merchants began to rise in Gujarat with the spread of Jainism. Jainism was the faith of many merchants in Gujarat. There was a considerable increase in the power and status of merchants in Gujarat by the end of the thirteenth century. From the early Caulukya period, one process contributed to the creation of the mercantile ethos of Gujarat that was the social process which resulted in the expansion of the merchant community itself. Traditionally, trading was the occupation of the Vaiśya section of society. But around the seventh and eighth centuries northern Gujarat and Southern Rajashthan witnessed the process which resulted in the expansion of the social base of the merchant community. While many merchants practiced Saivism, some of them embraced Jainism. For instance, the bulk of the Osval Jain merchants were Rajput before they adopted Jainism. Traders are generally economically stong, which give them the social status. Political involvement of them provide them more social status. Moreover if the merchants belong to that religious belief which prevailed that time in the society, the merchants gain more social acceptance. Jagadū was faboulously wealthy from the income of his maritime trade. He was also politically engaged with the Caulukya power of thirteenth century. These combination of two gave him a social status. But it is accepted that the primary factor of this expansion of



#### **Notes & References:**

<sup>1</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kutch\_district

- <sup>3</sup> Achyut Yagnik and Suchitra Seth. *The shaping of Modern Gujarat: Plurarity, Hindutva and Beyond.* Preface. xi.
- <sup>4</sup> Earliest is the Mandasore Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta II and Bandhuvarman, CII, vol. III, pp. 79-88
- <sup>5</sup> H.D.Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat: Including Kathiawar*, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>6</sup> Bhadreśvar, p. 3.
- <sup>7</sup> M.S.Shokoohy's reference J.Talboys Wheeler, *History of India from the Earliest Ages, I, Mahābhārata,* London, 1867, pp. 382-385.
- <sup>8</sup> Bhadreśvar, pp. 6-7.
- <sup>9</sup> Achyut Yagnik and Suchitra Seth, Op. cit., p. 22
- <sup>10</sup> Bhadreśvar, p.8 and 38.
- <sup>11</sup> Text, sarga I, v. 15.
- <sup>12</sup> Prabandhachintāmaṇi of Merutunga, Eng Trans. By C. H. Tanwey, pp. 154-155.
- <sup>13</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp.164-166.
- <sup>14</sup> Indian Studies, I: "The Jagadūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarat". P.30.
- <sup>15</sup> Jagadūcarita. ed. Srīumangavijaya Ganī, sarga V, v. 16.
- <sup>16</sup> Text, sarga VI, v. 47.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid. तडागद्वितये खाते कुमारमूलराजयो:।

कारयामास जगड्ह कर्णवापिकाम॥

- <sup>18</sup> A.K.Majumdar, *Op.cit.* pp. 499-501.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 104-119.
- <sup>20</sup> Indian Studies, I. p. 29
- <sup>21</sup> A.K.Majumdar, *Op. cit.* pp.25-28.
- <sup>22</sup> EI, vol. II, pp. 437-438.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* v. 10, p. 440.
- <sup>24</sup> IA, vol. VI, pp.193-196.
- <sup>25</sup> Indian Studies, I, pp. 33-36.
- <sup>26</sup> The History of India As Told by its Own Historians, Vol. I, Ed. John Dowson, pp. 483-491.
- <sup>27</sup> Edward Clive Bayley, *The History of India As Told by its Own Historians: The Local Muhammaden Dynasties: Gujarat*, pp. 27-28.
- <sup>28</sup> The Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. I, pp.14-24.
- <sup>29</sup> The History of India As Told by its Own Historians, vol. I, ed. John Dowson, pp.483-486.
- <sup>30</sup> Jainism: A Concise Encyclopedia, p.233.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* p. 98.
- <sup>32</sup> Text, canto VI, vv. 1-40.
- <sup>33</sup> Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, pp.190-192.
- <sup>34</sup> Text, canto VI, v. 64.
- <sup>35</sup> G. Bühler, *Indian Studies*, No. I, p.37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kathiawar

- <sup>36</sup> EI, vol. XXXVI, 1961-1962, pp. 141-150.
- <sup>37</sup> Romila Thapar, Somanatha: the Many Voices of a History, p. 31.
- <sup>38</sup> G. Bühler, *Op. cit.*, p.37.
- <sup>39</sup> Archeological Reports of Western India, vol. II. p. 209.
- <sup>40</sup> Bhadreśvar, p. 33.
- <sup>41</sup> The Cambay Arabic Inscription, EI: Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1961, pp. 2 ff.
- <sup>42</sup> Rangaranjan, Vaishnavism, p. 33.
- <sup>43</sup> Samira Sheikh, State and Society in Gujarat, c.1200-1500: The Making of a Region, p. 124-
- <sup>44</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 288-292.
- <sup>45</sup> Rangaranjan, *Op.cit.* pp. 9-10.
- <sup>46</sup> EI, vol II, p.439, as cited by Samira Sheikh, Op.cit. p.128.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>48</sup> Samira Sheikh, *Op.cit.* p.123.
- <sup>49</sup> Veraval Inscription, *EI*, vol. XXXVI, 1961-1962, p. 141-150.
- <sup>50</sup> V. K. Jain, Trade and traders in Western India. P. 233-237.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Representing the Others? Muslim in Sanskrit Sources. Delhi, 1998.
- <sup>52</sup> IA, Vol. XVII, p. 192.
- <sup>53</sup> Abu Inscriptions, *EI*, VIII, pp. 205-208.
- <sup>54</sup> Manusamhitā, X. 81-100; Āpastambha Samhitā, I.7.20; Gautama Samhitā, VIII. 1-26; Yājňavalkya Samhitā, I.120 as cited by V.K. Jain, Trade and Trdaers in Western India, pp. 212-214.
- <sup>55</sup> For detail description, *Ibid.* pp. 212-213.
- <sup>56</sup> EI, XI, p.61.
- <sup>57</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, p.463.
- <sup>58</sup> Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat, p.156.
- <sup>59</sup> Cf. V. K. Jain, Op. cit., footnotes. 41 and 42 of p. 214.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p. 216.
- 61 Jainism: A Concise Encyclopedia, p. 233.
- 62 IA, Vol. VI, p. 184.
- 63 Burgess, *ASWI*, II, p. 215.
- <sup>64</sup> A.K. Majumdar, *Op.cit.* p. 28.
- 65 Cf. Samira Sheikh, Op.cit. p. 38-41.
- <sup>66</sup> Manilal Bakorbhai Vyas, ed., Vimalaprabandha of Muni Lāvaṇyasamaya (1914) as cited by Samira Sheikh, Ibid. p. 91.
- <sup>67</sup> Text, canto. III, vv. 19-27.
- <sup>68</sup> A.k. Majumder, *Op.cit.* p. 338.
- <sup>69</sup> Text published by Prasarakasabha, Bhavnagar, 1905-1906. Eng. Trans. M. Johnson Helen. Baroda: GOS, 1937, III, 87-88.
- <sup>70</sup> Naradasmṛti, XII, 97.
- <sup>71</sup> Arthaśāstra, III, 3.
- <sup>72</sup> Text, canto. III, vv. 10-20.
- <sup>73</sup> *Indian Studies*, I, p. 9, footnote 2.

<sup>82</sup> The colophons of Haribhadra Sūri's *Nemināthacarita*, 1160 CE, In *A Descriptive Catalogue of manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars of Jesalmere*, ed. C.D. Dalal and L.B. Gandhi;

Candraprabhasvāmicarita, 1166 CE, In A Descriptive Catalogue of manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars of Pattan, ed. C.D. Dalal and L.B. Gandhi,1, Gaekwad Oriental Series, no. LXXVI, Baroda, 1937, pp. 252-256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Text, canto. III, vv. 28-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Bühler, *Op.cit.* p.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Sulagna Pradhan, "Three Merchants of Thirteenth Century in Gujarat". In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol.78, 2017. pp.275-281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Text, canto. VI, vv. 67-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> V.K. Jain. *Op.cit.* p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> *Indian Studies*, I, p.37.

<sup>80</sup> Text, canto. VI, vv. 123-137.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. V.K. Jain. Op.cit. p. 165.

<sup>83</sup> Sulagna Pradhan, Op.cit. pp. 275-276. .

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* pp.276-277.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> For the detail description of the ports of western coast *Cf.* V.K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, pp. 129-136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* P.16, note. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Archeological Survey of Western India, II, appendix. XIII-XIV, no.56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> *AKK*, p.214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Cf. Shireen Moosvi, "India's Sea Trade with Iran in Medieval Times", In *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 70, 2009-2010. p.240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> The Book of Ser Marco Polo, ed. and trans. Yule and Cordier, I, p.107; II, p.231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Bühler, *Op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> AKK. pp.206.ff.

<sup>93</sup> For detail discussion, Andre Wink, Al-Hind, pp.298-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Muhammad Ufi, Jami-ul-Hikayat, in Elliot and Dowson, *History as told by their Own Historians*, II, p. 201, as cited by Romila Thapar, *Somanatha: The many Voices of a History*, p.31.

<sup>95</sup> The Cambay Arabic Inscription, EI, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1961, pp.2 ff.

## **CHAPTER: 5**

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The last chapter of any dissertation is conventionally titled "Conclusion" which in the sense of "End" / "Close" / "Finish" indicate that the researcher has reached the final phase of the work and now it is the time to wrap up the results in a recapitulating mode. Thus this chapter is expected to contain a summary of the findings of the work. Most dissertations are complacent with this much workout. If Conclusion is taken to mean "Deduction" / "Assumption" / "Inference" / "Supposition" it may be said that these have already been part of the core exercise done in earlier chapters, because research involves a new interpretation of source materials which helps deduce / assume / infer / suppose certain probable propositions and research is not a job of mere compilation. The main body of the thesis has been dedicated to build up these Conclusions. Again, in humanities and social sciences (and also in pure science to some extent) a researcher has to be content with probabilities and it is not possible to utter any absolute verdict on the proposed theme. It must be admitted that there cannot really be any categorical decision too in a research work and any product of research should always remain open for further searches and improvement. Thus Conclusion in the sense "Decision" also seems inappropriate as the title of the last chapter. This realization has motivated the present researcher to break the convention and name the last chapter as "Concluding Remarks" which will endeavour to include what the researcher has missed in the previous chapters or did not find a suitable scope to state, though following the regular practice a summary of the previous chapters will also be arranged first.

The very first chapter of the dissertation is "Introduction" which deals about the theme of the proposed work and the relevant perspectives of this research. As the work is text based, the opening discussion embraces the subject matter of the text and the reasons for choosing the research topic. Sarvāṇanda's narrative contains very significant historical information which are touched upon in this chapter. It may be reiterated here that Jagaḍū, a wealthy Jain merchant (not a king or minister or any other royal personage) of thirteenth century Gujarat, who was also politically powerful during the reign of the 'Hindu' rulers in Gujarat, acted as the driving force behind the composition of the *carita kāvya* titled

Jagaḍūcarita even after hundred years of his demise and this fact makes the text a unique piece of interest for a researcher.

In course of presenting the historiography and review of existing literature, it has been shown that no comprehensive work on the text  $Jagad\bar{u}carita$  is available barring the scantily edited version from Nirnaya Sagara Press and fractional parts edited and annotated by Bühler, thus creating a necessity for relocation of the same in the various spheres like those of carita  $k\bar{a}vya$ ,  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$  and an independent literary product of fourteenth century. This is the aim and object of the research work. The design of chapters along with the methodology and writing technique of the dissertation has been duly presented in the Introduction.

The second chapter rests on the information "About the Text and the Author". The research has attempted to establish the probable time of the central character Jagaḍū as the first half of the thirteenth century CE forwarding arguments based on the internal evidences contained in the text. External evidences are also taken into account in this matter with reference to corresponding details in related sources. The structure of the text describing the names and subject matter of seven cantos, the chief metres and the figures of speech are presented as a sub-topic in this chapter. Then follows the discussion on the last three sub-topics, viz. (i) Relocation of the text in the sphere of the so called carita kāvyas (ii) Relocation of the text in the sphere of mahākāvyas and (iii) Comparative study of the text with other similar accounts, which are strung together. The definition and characteristics of so-called carita kāvya are stated in detail. Kāvyas centering on a historical character, is designated *carita kāvya* by modern rhetoricians, which is not at all supported by any treaties on Sanskrit rhetorics. The main reason behind the name of these types of kāvyas is the word carita appended to the name of the hero of the poem, eg. Buddhacarita, Harṣacarita, Navasāhasānkacarita, Rāmacarita, Vikramānkadevacarita, Kumārapālacarita etc. An attempt at relocating of the text Jagadūcarita in the domain of this particular genre is undertaken here. The characteristics of both Jain and Brahmanical mahākāvyas are furnished to situate the Jagadūcarita in the sphere of mahākāvya. For boosting the sub-topic related to other accounts about  $Jagad\bar{u}$ , who was so much involved philanthropic services for the people of Bhadreswar in Kutch, the Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha composed by Śubhaśīlagaņi, (composed in Vikrama Samvat 1521 or 1463 – 1464 CE) is consulted. The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth

sambandhas of this composition contain a version of Jagaḍū's story in a haphazard mixture of Gujarati and Sanskrit languages. It is evidently different from Jagaḍūcarita and full of absurd legends. It may be that a long interval of time, turned the story of Jagaḍū into myth. The latter is composed much earlier than the former and the poet Sarvāṇanda had access to more reliable sources of the story than Śubhaśīlagaṇi. Some instances are discussed here for substantiating the point.

Chapter 3 is the "Edited and Annotated text" of Sarvāṇanda's *Jagaḍūcarita* done after collating two primary sources of the reseach. A text of *Jagaḍūsaṃvandha* in *Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha* composed by Śubhaśīlagaṇi has been also added here. The concernred chapter contained summary of both the text of Sarvāṇanda's *Jagaḍūcarita* and Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Jagaḍūsaṃbandha* (*Pañcaśatīprabodhasaṃbandha*).

Chapter 4 is about the "Political, Religious and Social Importance of the Text." Different dimensions of political, social and religious history including a sketch of maritime history of the concerned period have been explored from Sarvāṇanda's descriptions. The endeavour has been also made here to analyse the proposition about the influence of trade and traders in the politics, religion and society at that time. Thus the text has been relocated into these areas and also it has been represented as an extraordinary content reflecting interaction and mutual regard between traders and rulers which transcended all business relations, religious affiliations as well as political loyalties. The mercantile ethos, coexistence of different religions also regulated the political, social and religious realm of Gujarat in this time. It is exhibited here how the text helps find out these aspects from the illustrations by the author and manifest the importance of the text from these aspects.

The related thoughts the present researcher could not properly cultivate in the core chapters may now be presented one by one.

The first point of discussion would be the impact of the narrative of Jagaḍū and the Jagaḍūcarita on modern socio-cultural set up. Jagaḍū is still remembered for his munificent work in the Jain community. His generosity during the thirteenth century famine has left so great impact on people that after so many years, he is remembered for his work. In present day scenario also, Jagaḍū remains an inspirational character known for his charity, trade and wealth and his community services. A village in Ghatkopar, west

Mumbai is dedicated to the great man and the village renamed after him as Jagdushah Nagar. A memorial stone of Jagaḍū is located in a Dhramshala of Bardai Brahmin at Jhundala near Porbandar, where Jagaḍū died.

The temple of Harsidhhi Mata aka Harshal Mata is a place of tourist attraction, situated at Miyani Village, around 30 km from Porbandar towards Dwaraka, which is associated with the legend of Jagaḍū. The main temple is said to be built by Kriṣṇa after defeating the *asura*s and Jarāsandha with the power of Ambā Mātā. As the mythological story goes, When Jarāsandha was killed, all Yādavas expressed their overjoy (*harṣita*) and hence the name Harshad Mata or Harsidhhi Mata. Jagaḍū is accredited for building one temple of the goddess at the foot-hill of Koyal Dungar in Miyani. The statue of Jagaḍū itself is also placed beside the goddess on the right side in the present temple.

The present day Vasai Temple near Bhadreshwar in Kutch, a must visit place for the Jain pilgrimage, is believed to be rebuilt by Jagaḍū and the general belief goes that there he was apprised of a famine from his spiritual Guru.

One place near Saurashtra is marked as the ruined palace of Jagadushah and people regularly visit that site.<sup>1</sup> However, the authenticity of this place is questionable. Another such example of his greatness can be visible beside opposite banks of Aji River, Rajkot where ruins of a tower, built to give people job during the famine, is found and the tower is popular as Jagdu Shah's Tower.

Many dramas have been written and staged on the life of Jagaḍū or Jagadushah. One of the very popular Gujarati drama is *Daneshwari Sheth Jagdu shah*.<sup>2</sup> There are also so many you tube short videos on Jagadushah.<sup>3</sup> He is attributed the title of *Daan-veer*, *Shahsaudagar* for his generosity and equal respect for all religion. A popular Hindi drama *JAGADUSHA* - *The Great Conqueror of Hearts* perfectly portrays his life and character.<sup>4</sup> A full length colour film has been released in 1981 named *Seth Jagdusha*, directed by Ravindra Dave featuring Upendra Trivedi, Vidya Sinha.<sup>5</sup> It proves that even after a lapse of 700 years he lives as a popular character among the Gujarati Jain community.

Undoubtedly *Jagadūcarita* of Sarvāṇanda Sūri, a *carita kāvya* in modern literary terminology for ancient creative writings and *mahākāvya* according to Sanskrit rhetorics, is the most accepted and adored composition on the life of Jagadū. Here in the conclusion, the key findings of the research are cited below.

- a. The text of Jagadūcarita bears the characteristics of a carita kāvya and a mahākāvya to a great extent. It is written in the Brahmanical style of a mahākāvya, but at the same time it displays similarities with the composition of twelfth century Jain poets. Actually the Jain monk Sarvāṇanda Sūri intentionally composed his kāvya by imitating Brahmanical style in order to popularise Jainism in the Brahmanical society through his composition as it announces the great deeds of a Jain merchant. Thus it may be relocated in a remarkably distinct way in the sphere of carita kāvya, mahākāvya and also as an exclusive type of literary product with special linguistic features.
- b. The text is relocated with reference to the political, religious and social perspectives as it contains significant information of the state of affairs of the concerned time. The mosque built by Jagaḍū for the Is'malī, is considered to be the earliest Islamic monument in India. This text is the only document to report the famine of Gujarat during the year 1256 to1258 CE. It is the very first record of the presence of any Indian agent in Hormuz port. It is a remarkable piece of text, documenting the mutual relationship among different religious groups of thirteenth century Gujarat after many Islamic inventions and also in a very intricate religious atmosphere.
- **c.** The text under scanner, i.e. the *Jagaḍūcarita*, is also relocated in several interrelated cases pertaining to Jagaḍū's manifold activities. These refer to the relation of a merchant with the ruler, the rise, power and the political significance of merchant Jagaḍū and also the merchant group in the contemporary political scenario, the links between trade and religion especially Jainism and the social impact and influence of the merchant community all of which have already been illustrated in earlier chapters.

# **Future Prospect of the work**

Having accessed and checked (of course to the limit of my humble knowledge and little ability) the repository of research works on so called *carita kāvyas*, including unpublished dissertations, published books and articles, I found that there have been several good and extensive discourses about this genre of literature, but no research to relocate any such text came to my notice (of course there may be a chance that I missed one). All the discussions focus on the literary aspect or the historical significance of the said works and does not bother about resituating the texts in new perspectives with reference to corroborating evidences in the form of contemporary and earlier indigenous and foreign literature, epigraphy, archaeological and numismatic findings. Studies in this light are much awaited

for this genre. Moreover, micro study of these texts may be undertaken from sociolinguistic and aesthetic perspectives. Later *carita kāvya*s may contain newly coined words which speak for the social, political, economic and religious changes.

It will not be fully out of context here to say that Gujarat has not stopped to carry on the legacy of Jagaḍū through modern day industrialists and big trading houses holding political and social power and playing key roles in making many crucial decisions to influence and impact on the political situations and economic development of the country. Kudos to Jagaḍū for his unparalleled service and memorable contributions to his native state.

## **References:**

<sup>1</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IH14Gr7pIEY

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thc7ezypujk

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3EHmBk1Rzgc

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8uS3v9pipG8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMuuCE2Eaek

## **Appendix: I**

## **Linguistic Features of the Text**

The necessity of this appendix has been felt after touching the finishing point of the task undertaken. Though the discussion on the linguistic features of the text was not present anywhere on the blueprint of the proposed work, the long intimacy with the text made something tickle in my searching mind which ultimately drove my focus to this aspect of the text. And this was not altogether without reason. Words are one of the most essential sources to derive information about the past. Each composer belongs to a particular period and a particular place which play a very important role in their use of words and imageries which in their turn redirect the information to the decoders of the text. First of all, the text is not a standard poetic composition of a regular court poet to eulogise a king or any royal personage; secondly, the time and place of the poem deserve special attention because of the changing socio-political, economic, religious and geographical portrait of western India during that time; thirdly, though not professedly composed for propagating Jainism, the latent wish of the poet to do so can be easily felt; and finally the urge of the Jain poet to secure his place among Brahmanical versifiers by alluding to purāṇic myths and legends cannot be lost sight of. All these factors have left clear impact on the linguistic aspect of the text. Sarvāṇanda Sūri of *Jagadūcarita* has composed the poetry in order to popularise his own composition and Jagadū, the Jain hero of his composition, amidst of Brahmanical surroundings. It is discussed earlier that, as his work was aimed at edifying and spreading the Jain faith, it has not made its mark in the field of the pure classical poetry. Though a large part of the composition has unmistakable features of a mahākāvya, the manner of presentation and style of writing have deprived this work of securing a place among the pieces that are considered for their standard of excellence. As for language Sarvāṇanda's work is comparatively simple which does not really match the ideal of later Sanskrit classical court epics. Sometimes he has used some words in imitation of the Brahmanical culture and art of writing. But while doing so, he has committed mistakes. It is obvious that he was not adept in using embellished Sanskrit language which is expected of a prescribed Sanskrit mahākāvya. Sometimes it seems that he is doing a metrical exercise in a foreign language.

The poet employs some rare Sanskrit words used in poetry, or of common Sanskrit words with irregular gender and uncommon meanings, and a few Prakrit words which have been rendered into and made to look like Sanskrit. Among the Sanskrit words the following deserve mention as they do not appear in the standard dictionaries and also because their use is not sufficiently illustrated by quotations. A list of these type of words is given below:

- 1. dhiṣṇya. Sarga I. v.15. (Meaning: power). This Sanskrit word is rarely used in Sanskrit poetry in the sense of 'power'. It has been used to mean 'power' or 'strength' in Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.¹ It is commonly used in RV (i.3.2) to refer to Aśvins.² The etymological meaning of this word is 'mindful', 'attentive', 'benevolent', 'liberal' etc. The word dhiṣṇya in its feminine form dhiṣṇyā has been used in RV only (iv.3.6)³ in the sense of 'a sort of subordinate or side-altar (generally a heap of earth covered with sand on which the fire is placed, and of which 8 are enumerated'.
- 2. śaka. Sarga IV. v. 7. (Meaning: a Muslim). This is a very common usage with the later Jain writers to use this word to indicate the Muslims. The word has been used from a very early period in different texts to denote different groups of people. M.M. Williams has given the meaning as "white-skinned tribe or race of people". In the legend it is said that, while there was a contest between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, in the fables the Śakas are said to have been produced by the Vaśiṣṭha's cow (from the sweat of the cow) for the destruction of Viśvāmitra's army. In *Manusaṃhitā* (X. 44.), Śakas are mentioned together with the Pauṇḍrakas, Drāviḍas, Kāmbojos, Yavanas etc., described by Kullūka as degraded tribes of Kṣatriyas called after the districts in which they reside. Sometimes they are regarded as the followers of Śaka or Śāli-vāhana and probably to be identified with the Indo-Scythians who seem to have been dominant in the north-west of India from circa 1st century BCE to 2nd Century CE.5
- **3.** *dinān. Sarga* VI. v.18. (Meaning: **day, in Masculine gender**). Generally, the word *dina* is used in neuter gender as it is included in the *gaṇapātha 'ardharcādi'*, which only includes words in neuter gender). No example from Sanskrit literature can be quoted in which it is used in masculine gender. It is interesting that the word has been assigned masculine gender in Sanskrit *kośa*s as also in Gujarati and other vernaculars.
- **4.** *jhagiti. Sarga* VII. v.10. (Meaning: **quickly or suddenly**). This word is not commonly used in Sanskrit poetry. But it is common in literary usage in Kashmir and Punjab.

5. mūṭaka. Sarga VI. v.125. (Meaning: a measure) 1 mūṭaka means 25 ser or 100 maṇ. The word mūṭaka is taken from Gujarati mūḍo or mūdho (according to Mr. Narmada Shankara's Gujarati Dictionary (sub voce mūḍo). V.K. Jain has mentioned this term as mūḍā. According to him, the term is primarily mentioned in the sources belonging to western India. It seems that it was a local weight of highest denomination and was considered equal to 160 sei or 640 māṇa.

There are few Sanskrit words, coined out of Prakrit, from other Indic languages or foreign words. They are listed below:

- **1.** *naṅgara. Sarga* III. v. 32. (Meaning: **an anchor**). This word is an unusual use in Sanskrit. It is coined from the Gujarati word *nāṁgar*, which is itself a corruption of the Persian *langar*. In Marathi, the word *nāṁgar* also occurs. In Bengali, *noṅgara* is used to refer to an anchor.
- **2.** *ārāsanāśman. Sarga* VI. v. 44. (Meaning: **polished marble**). This is derived from Gujarati *āras pāhāṇ*, literally meaning 'looking-glass stone'. <sup>8</sup>
- 3. garjaneśa. Sarga VI. v. 126. (Meaning: a Muslim King; here refers to Sultan of Delhi). The word 'garjanaka' is a Sanskrit word coined originally to refer Ghazni. The etymological meaning of it is 'the roarer'. Someśvara on Bilhaṇa has used the word to represent Ghazni. But in later period, the word garjana, garjanka or gājana has been used by the authors for Muslim in general. It has been a common tendency and practice in later times to sanskritize foreign names and words and give them an etymological or derivative sense, which may be noticed also in a couple of words given below.
- **4.** *masīti. Sarga* VI. v. 64. (Meaning: **a mosque**). The word is derived from the word *masjid* in Arabic. In Veraval inscription the word for a mosque is *mijigiti*.
- **5.** *mudgala.* Sarga VI. V. 65. (Mughal). The Jain authors of fourteenth and later centuries used to refer to Mughals by the word *mudgala*. The Mughals started their frequent raids in the large area of western and northern Indian sub-continent during the thirteenth century CE. The Jains started to use the term to denote them, though they have also indiscriminately applied it for all foreigners. The term *Mudgla* is an ancient one which is used to refer to a seer in RV. There is an Upanişad known by this name too.<sup>12</sup>

The author Sarvāṇanda Sūri has also used words which seem somewhat unusual for a  $mah\bar{a}k\bar{a}vya$ .

- i. bhāṭaka. Sarga IV. v.4. (Meaning: rent). Noun.
- ii. karamudrikā. Sarga IV. v.24. (a signet ring). This feminine word is an unusual usage.
  - iii. mandira. Sarga IV. vv. 4, 8, 14, 19. Sarga V. v. 25. Sarga VII. v. 7. (a town)
  - iv. prn. Sarga V. v.41. (to gladden).
  - v. vā. Sarga V. v.28. (like, as).
  - vi. lajjāpiņļa Sarga VI. v.131. (a secret gift to shamefaced beggars). Noun.
  - vii. rīrī. Sarga VI. v.57. (yellow brass). Feminine.
  - viii. rākācaturdasīpakṣa Sarga VI. v.34. (the Pūrņimā Gachchha). Masculine.
- ix. ācāmlavardhamāna Sarga VI. v.2. (name of a Jain penance). This stands for ācāmāmla.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. M.M. Williams. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. p.516.

<sup>2</sup> अश्विना पुरुदंससा नरा ञ्चवीरया धिया। धिष्ण्या वनतं गिर:॥

³ किंद्धिष्ण्यासु वृधसानो अग्ने कद्वाताय प्रतवसे शुभंये। परिज्मने नासत्याय क्षे ब्रवः कदग्ने रुद्राय नृघ्ने॥

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M.M. Williams. *Op. cit.* p.1045.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ihid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> George Bühler. *Indian Studies*, No. 1. p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Trade and Traders in Western India. p. 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> George Bühler. *Op. cit.* p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *IA*, vol.6. p. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kirtikaumadi, II. 57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Karṇasundarī. (Ed. Durgāprasāda .1.18, (gajjaṇanagaram 'the town of Ghazni'); 1.7 (garjanādhupati 'the king of Ghazni.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> M.M. Williams. *Op. cit.* p. 822.

### **APPENDIX: II**

## **Gallery of Images**

This appendix contains the images related to the wealthy merchant Jagaḍū, famous for his generosity and philanthropic activities. The images exhibited here are visual representation of the stories/ accounts about Jagaḍū as told in the *Jagaḍūcarita* and other chronicles. These may be treated as corroborative documents of some of the information gathered and analyzed so far.

An image may be a photograph or a painting, which captures or freezes in a frame an object or a person in a particular moment forver and thus helps us illustrate a related story, to give a definite shape to our understanding of history, culture and the identity of the people associated with it and in some instances also to uncover a new evidence. Sometimes details are not available in a written text where images provide accurate information about people, places, objects of remote past and forgotten places. They are the time machine to take us to the bygone ages where we are able to have a visual experience of some great people and interesting historical events. This uniqueness of visual representations has inspired the present researcher to add a second Appendix which is actually a gallery of images related to Jagaqū with brief captions stating the source and nature of the same. However, it must be admitted that a painting may not be the accurate representation of a person, an object or an event. The painter is a creative soul who often sees his object through the prism of his own imagination which turns his painting into a representation of what he wishes to see and/ or show or what is a latent feature not visible to everyone. The images reproduced here should be judged in that light.

# Generous Jagadu Shah

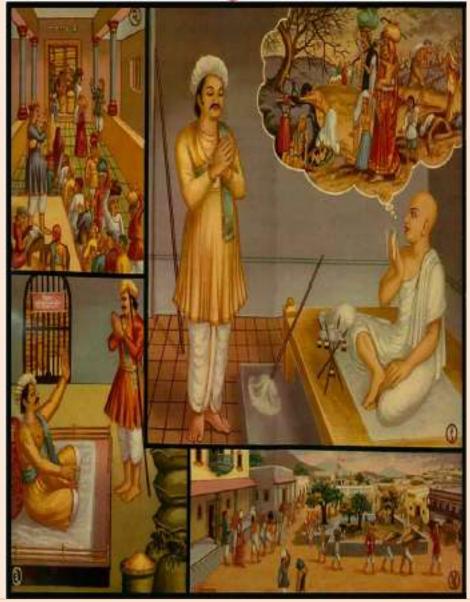


Image Source:

https://www.jainfoundation.in/JAINLIBRARY/books/Jain Stories 007725 std.pdf

These four images are inspired by Jain Acharya Śri Bhuvanbhānu Sūriśvarji Mahārāja. The images tell us about the benevolent work of Jagaḍū and his complete faith in his guru, which shows his spiritual side with an essence of humanitarianism.

The images are described as:

"1) In Vikram Samvat 14th Century, Jagdu Shah, a gentlemen of Kutch was told by a

Jain monk that in future there would be a severe drought, and the Jain monk told him to

donate food grains and make good use of his money. Jagadu Shah had utmost faith in the

monk and believed his words completely. The imagination of the hungry faces of all

drought-stricken people appeared before his eyes.

(2) Before the drought, for many years, Jagadu Shah collected and stored huge amount of

grain in granaries all over Kutch and Gujarat. When drought struck the region, he donated

all the grains to the needy.

(3) At that time even Gujarat's King Vishaldev's granaries had no grains. Therefore, even

the King asked him for some grain. But he said that the grain was meant for the poor and

the needy. Hearing this the King was shocked and appreciated Jagadu Shah's generosity,

kindness and humility.

(4) Later, ocean of Auchintya (One who knows what is right under difference

circumstances) Jagadu Shah, gave grains to the King as he believed that donation is the

foundation of religion and even more, donation of food makes your foe, your friend.

Centuries have passed but yet his name is amongst one of the most generous men. Bravo

Jagadu Shah!!"

Source:

https://www.jainfoundation.in/JAINLIBRARY/books/Jain Stories 007725 std.pdf



Image Source:

https://www.gosahin.com/places-to-visit/vasai-jain-temple/#lightbox-gallery-08-1-1

Vasai Jain Temple of Bhadreshwar which is revamped by Jagadū.

Vasai Jain temple is said to be reconstructed by removing all its antiquity by Jagaḍū in the year 1125 CE according to Khantavijaya's chronicle about Jagaḍū. It is the most seasoned Jain temple in India. It is reconstructed several times after being affected by natural calamities, from time to time. At present day, three deities are worshipped here and the temple is constructed with white marble. The deities are Ajinātha, the second *Tīrthaṅkara* with sixteenth *Tīrthaṅkara*, Śāntinātha, and of Pārśvanātha.







## Image Source:

- 1. <a href="http://www.nivalink.com/things-to-do/harsiddhi-mata-temple">http://www.nivalink.com/things-to-do/harsiddhi-mata-temple</a>
- 2. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ehwGv9Myt10">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ehwGv9Myt10</a>
- 3. <a href="https://dynamic-media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-o/13/81/dd/e7/story-of-shiva-temple.jpg?w=1200&h=-1&s=1">https://dynamic-media-cdn.tripadvisor.com/media/photo-o/13/81/dd/e7/story-of-shiva-temple.jpg?w=1200&h=-1&s=1</a>
- Image of famous Harsiddhi Mata Temple, which is said to be constructed by Jagaḍū at the foot of Koyal Dungar in Miyani. As per the legend, the original temple was situated on the top of the hills facing the sea. Any ship which came in the eyesight of the goddess sank

immediately. Jagaḍū was a great merchant and his command over the sea was extra ordinary. His trade route extended to Hormuz harbour also. When Jagaḍū's six of the seven ships sank, he prayed and kept fasting for three days to please the goddess. The deity, pleased by prayer agreed to come down the foothill where the new temple is built. Harsiddhi Mata temple is a favourite tourist attraction in Gujarat now.

- . According to the legend, the idol of Jagadū was placed on the right side of the idol of Harsiddhi Mata, where Jagadū was worshipped for his devotion and religiousness.
- . Some people denied the story and said that the temple was originally a Śaiva Temple from the time of Solāṅki dynasty. We can only assume that maybe there are some stories associated with the temple but the legends of the great man Jagaḍū remains unaffected though centuries.



Image Source:

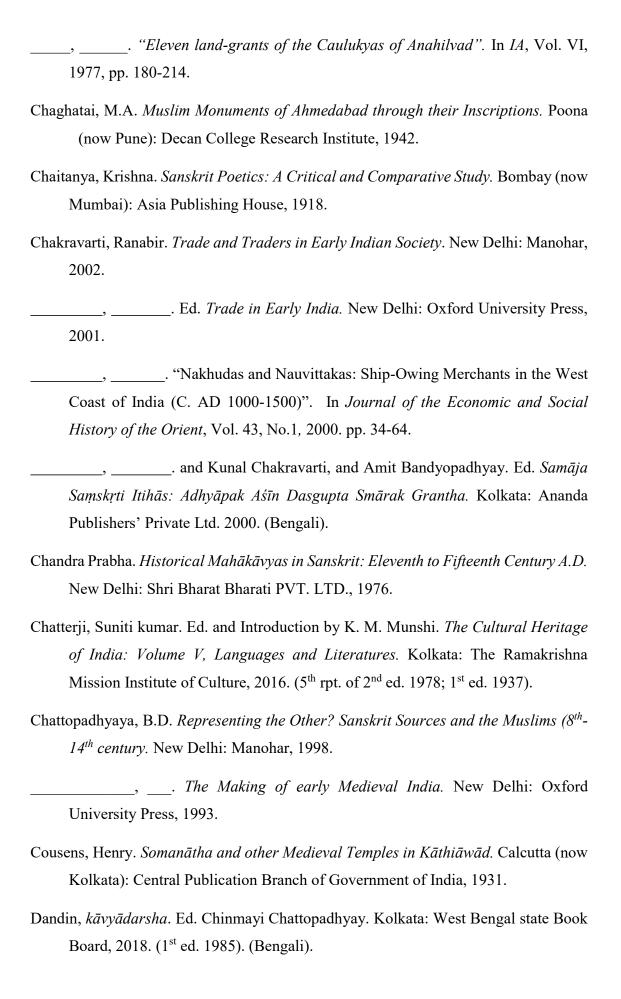
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ruins of Jagdusha Palace Bhadreshwar Kutch Gujarat India.jpg

The ruins of the palace of Jagadū.

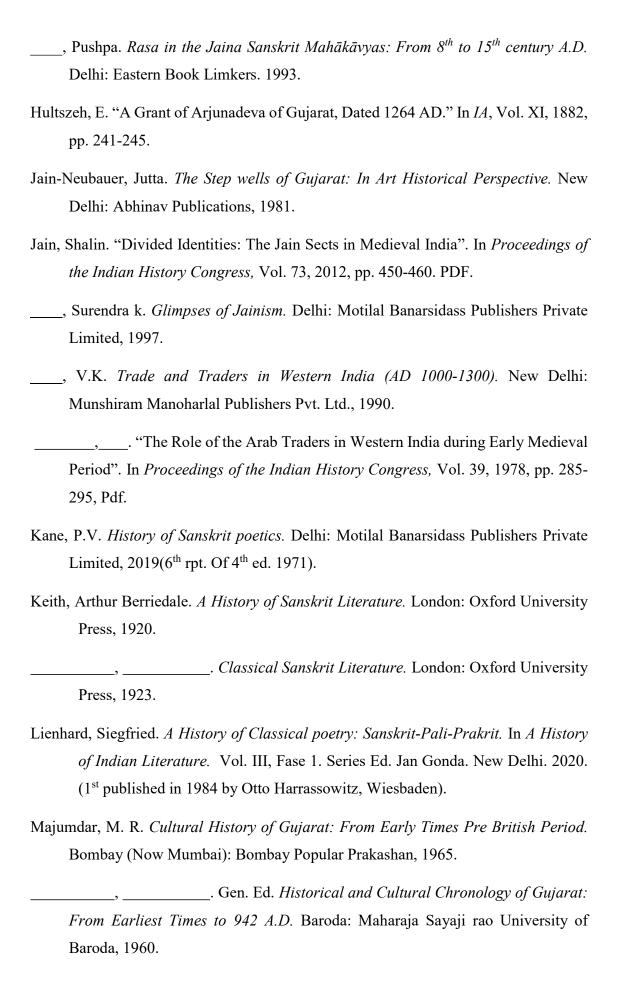
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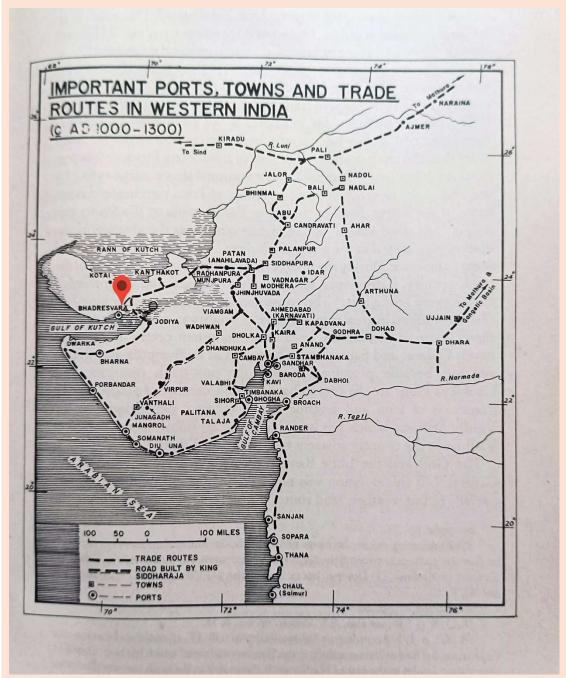
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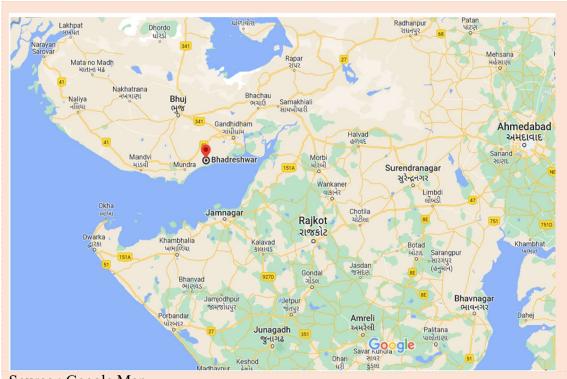
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Source: Trade and Traders in Western India by V.K.Jain. p. 111

Bhadreshwar: An important port town in Kutch of Gujarat.

Important ports, towns, and trade routes in western India (c. AD 1000-1300)



Source : Google Map

Bhadreshwar in present day Google Map.



Sulagna Pradhan

24/01/2023